



# REPUBLICAN DOCUMENTS.

## PROCEEDINGS

OF THE MEETING HELD AT THE TABERNACLE, IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK, ON THE 29TH OF APRIL, 1856, PURSUANT TO THE FOLLOWING CALL :

The citizens of New York opposed to the measures and policy of the present National Administration for the Extension of Slavery over territory embraced within the compact of the "Missouri Compromise," and in favor of repairing the mischiefs arising from the violation of good faith in its repeal, and of restoring the action and position of the Federal Government on the subject of Slavery to the principles of Washington and JEFFERSON, are respectfully invited by the undersigned to hold a Public Meeting, at the BROADWAY TABERNACLE, on Tuesday Evening, 29th of April, to hear the report of the Delegates from the State of New York to the Pittsburgh Convention, and to take measures for an organized maintenance, in the approaching Presidential Canvass, of the great national principles of Justice and Freedom promulgated by that Convention.

CHAS. H. MARSHALL,	F. MOORE,	A. WILLMANN,
W. C. BRYANT,	JOHN F. McCOY,	ZAK. PETERSON,
B. F. BUTLER,	WM. PALEN,	F. GRAF,
J. B. WEBB,	CHAS. W. ELLIOTT,	GEO. BLISS, Jr.,
M. H. GRINNELL,	WM. B. ALLEN,	CHAS. C. LEIGH,
JAMES H. TITUS,	I. N. PERKINS,	DAVID McMASTER,
GERARDUS BOYCE,	HEN. P. FESSENDEN,	CHAS. C. WHITEHEAD,
J. F. BUTTERWORTH,	JOHN P. CUMMING,	GEO. P. NELSON,
ISAAC H. BAILEY,	GEO. WHITING,	L. B. WYMAN,
R. ENMET,	ISAAC DAYTON,	J. S. REDFIELD,
EDMUND M. YOUNG,	STEPHN C. CUMMING,	E. A. STANSBURY,
JOHN PETTIGREW,	JOHN NEWHOUSE,	T. A. HOWE,
SIMEON DRAPER,	JAMES W. NYE,	MAURICE LEYNE,
WM. ALLEN BUTLER,	THADDEUS HYATT,	ABNER CHICHESTER,
JONA. MILLER,	HORACE WEBSTER,	ZENAS WHEELER,
ARCH'D RUSSELL,	WM. CURTIS NOYES,	R. H. AVERY,
AARON FRANK,	JOHN STEPHENSON,	JONA. J. CODDINGTON,
A. WOLF,	J. HOYT,	HENRY W. BELLOWES,
JOHN MEINHARD,	W. M. VERMILYE,	WM. C. GILMAN,
FREDERICK KAPP,	E. D. MORGAN,	HENRY D. SEDGWICK,
PETER WARNIKESSEL,	J. W. EDMONDS,	WASIL SMITH,
ANTH'Y J. BLEECKER,	JOHN A. C. GRAY,	JOHN POLLOCK,
EDGAR KETCHUM,	HENRY C. BOWEN,	SAML. De LA MATER,
JOHN SAY,	J. BLUNT,	THOMAS CUMMING, Jr.
JOHN BIGELOW,	WM. M. EVARTS,	WILLIAM M. KNOX,
WM. HENRY ANTHON,	HEN. S. CHITTENDEN,	CHARLES E. BUTLER,
A. OAKLEY HALL,	JOHN E. WILLIAMS,	WM. S. McCOUN,
S. LAUNNER,	THOMAS FESSENDEN,	And some 3000 others.
CHAS. F. BRIGGS,	HERMANN ROSTER,	

(From the Evening Post, April 30.)

The meeting at the Tabernacle last night was every way worthy of the distinguished body of citizens at whose call it was assembled. At an early hour the vast area of that capacious edifice was thronged by one of the most intelligent and manly audiences which we have seen assembled together in this metropolis. It contained none who are attracted to public meetings by bands of music, bonfires and mercenary processions; for no such appeals were made. They came simply because, in the words of the call, they were "opposed to the measures and policy of the present National Administration for the extension of slavery over territory embraced within the compact of the 'Missouri Compromise,' and in favor of repairing the mischiefs arising from the violation of good faith in its repeal, and of restoring the action and position of the federal government, on the subject of "slavery, to the principles of Washington and Jefferson;" and they were determined to signify to the people of the United States, and to the civilized world, that the great commercial metropolis of the New World is determined at once to put a stop to the nationalization of slavery in this republic; that they were determined that the ships which bear her commerce to the ends of the earth shall sail under a flag which shall not confound them on the seas with the slave-freighted bottoms of Algiers or Tripoli.

Punctual to the hour specified in the call, the business of the evening was entered upon; and at half-past seven o'clock the meeting was called to order by the Hon. E. D. Morgan, Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements, who said:

"Fellow-citizens: The hour for which this meeting was called having arrived, I have been requested by the Committee of Arrangements to call it to order; and to nominate a president for the evening. I propose to you the Hon. Benj. F. Butler." (Loud cheers.)

This was carried unanimously.

Mr. Butler took his place amidst vehement cheering, at the conclusion of which he remarked that he had come there in an infirm condition of health, and if he should not have strength to remain in his seat until the close of the meeting, he must claim their permission to call one of the vice-presidents to take his place.

Anthony J. Bleecker then rose and nominated the following gentlemen to act as vice-presidents and secretaries:

#### VICE-PRESIDENTS.

J. B. WEBB,  
ANTHONY TIEMANN,  
CHARLES BURTON,  
HORACE SOUTHAMPTON,  
CHARLES W. ELLIOTT,  
AARON FRANK,  
J. S. REDFIED,  
ERASTUS C. BENEDICT,  
JOSIAH RICH,  
B. W. BONNEY,  
S. P. TOWNSEND,  
JOHN McKISSON,  
WM. M. VERMILYE,  
S. P. HUNT,  
GEORGE BROWN,  
JOHN A. C. GRAY,  
OLIVER E. WOOD.

MOSES H. GRINNELL,  
WM. C. BRYANT,  
CHARLES H. MARSHALL,  
GERARDUS BOYCE,  
SAMUEL DELAMATER,  
JOHN PETTIGREW,  
ISAAC SHERMAN,  
WASHINGTON SMITH,  
RUDOLPH GARRIGUE,  
HENRY J. RAYMOND,  
WM. CURTIS NOYES,  
EDMUND M. YOUNG,  
ISAAC H. BAILEY,  
JOHN W. EDMONDS,  
JAMES S. KELLY,  
JOHN F. BUTTERWORTH,  
BENJ. F. PINCKNEY,

JOHN KEYSER,  
D. D. FIELD,  
HENRY A. HURLBUT,  
CHARLES A. STETSON,  
ORISON BLUNT,  
J. H. TOWNSEND,  
ABRAHAM M. COZZENS,  
JOHN J. HERRICK,  
ROBERT EMMET,  
WILLIAM KENT,  
L. B. WARD,  
JOHN STEPHENSON,  
CHARLES A. DANA,  
CHARLES E. BUTLER,  
JONATHAN MILLER,  
JOHN E. WILLIAMS,

#### SECRETARIES.

WM. H. ANTHON,  
T. S. BERRY,  
JAMES MCKENLEY,  
HENRY D. SEDGWICK,

AUGUSTUS F. DOW,  
JAMES R. SPAULING,  
HENRY A. CHITTENDEN,  
BERNARD CASSERLY,

A. OAKLEY HALL,  
JOHN J. TOWNSEND,  
FREDERICK KAPP,  
THADDEUS HYATT.

The nominations were received with much applause; and the meeting being now completely organized, the Hon. Benjamin F. Butler arose and said:

#### HON. B. F. BUTLER'S SPEECH.

The circumstances under which this meeting—composed, in a large degree, of persons who never before acted together in a political organization—has assembled, seem to demand from the chair a few words by way of introduction to the proceedings of the evening.

The object of our meeting is clearly set forth in the brief but comprehensive call by which it has been convened.

It connects itself with the approaching Presidential canvass and derives from it some measure of the dignity and importance which, in our country, belong to every such election.

Besides the grave questions always involved in the choice of the Federal Executive, there is connected with the coming election one of pressing exigency and moment. I refer, it is almost needless to say, to that which relates to the present welfare and future condition of the territory of Kansas. The wanton and perfidious repeal, by the Congress of 1854, of the slavery restriction clause in the Missouri compact; the attempts since made to introduce, by force and fraud, African bondage into territory dedicated, by faith and honor, as well as by act of Congress, to human freedom; and the trying circumstances, past and present, of the settlers in that territory, give to this particular question, at this juncture, a special, concentrated and far-reaching interest.

But the rescue of Kansas from slavery, and the establishment, within her borders, of a free state—necessary and gratifying as are and will be these results—are only parts, and comparatively small parts, of the work to which we now are called.

The principles of Human Right and of Democratic Liberty, proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence, and exemplified by the acts and writings of the fathers and founders of the republic, are boldly denied by political leaders of all parties in the South. This denial has been echoed from the topmost seat of executive power, in solemn messages to the representatives of the people and the states. It is industriously repeated by placemen and place-hunters in every quarter of the country. It is supinely acquiesced in by those who are content to follow the traditions and forms of the party with which they have been accustomed to act, without caring for the life-giving principles from which it derived its being, and by which alone it can be saved from death and putrefaction.

The real question for the next election is therefore no less a one than this: Shall the federal government be divorced from its present alliance with, and subserviency to, the slave power; or shall such alliance and subserviency, with ever increasing degradation, be continued for another term of four years?" (Cheers.)

This question must be met and answered. It must be met and answered in the right way. The federal government must be brought back to its first principles. The false theories and pernicious schemes of slavery-propagandism, must be rebuked. The northern men who, in the legislative and executive departments, have lent themselves to these theories and schemes—apostatizing from the faith of their fathers, trampling on the interests of their constituents, and staining the glory of their country—must be tumbled from their seats, and by these and other like demonstrations of the public will, it must once more be manifested to our own people and to the world, that the American Union, while it leaves to each state exclusive jurisdiction and control over all its domestic institutions, is yet, in its national character, distinctly and actually a free republic, founded on the broadest recognition of human rights, and pledged, so far as its limited powers extend, to the protection and diffusion of these rights. It must be seen and known of all men, that wherever the flag of our country is unfurled, freedom is the general and cherished rule, slavery the partial and much lamented exception. (Cheers.)

I have an abiding confidence that whatever may be the issue of the coming election, these principles will ultimately triumph. To doubt this would be to distrust not only the virtue and intelligence of our people, but the vitality and omnipotence of Truth.

But it is not to be disguised, that the final triumph we anticipate will be hastened or retarded by the results of the next Presidential election. This invests it with a new and momentous interest, and lays upon every voter a heavy responsibility.

The call under which we have assembled looks to the Republican Convention, to be held at Philadelphia in June next, for the candidates to be supported by the friends of the great principles promulgated by the Convention held at Pittsburgh in February last. (Prolonged applause.) For one, I gave to this call my ready signature—I give to the cause it was intended to promote my hearty support. (Cheers.)

The proceedings of the Pittsburgh Convention, while boldly maintaining the rights and interests of human freedom, were marked throughout by a spirit of justice, moderation, and true nationality, entirely consonant to my own judgment, and

destined, I would fain hope, to receive the approval of the American people. As one of the people, I gladly take my place in the ranks of the political party then and there organized; and to the extent of my ability, I shall esteem it, not merely a duty, but a high privilege, to do fair and honorable battle, on all just occasions, for this most righteous and patriotic cause. (Cheers.)

Mr. Butler's remarks were delivered with great animation and with thrilling effect. He was frequently interrupted by applause; and when he closed, some time elapsed before the audience could be composed enough to listen to his announcement that the Hon. Abijah Mann, jun., was present, prepared to make a report on behalf of the New York Delegation to the Pittsburgh Convention.

Mr. Mann's name, when it was heard, was received with loud cheers, and himself by still louder, when he was seen. Quiet being finally restored, he proceeded to read the following report:

#### MR. MANN'S REPORT.

In behalf of the delegates to the Republican Convention held at Pittsburgh on the 22d day of February last, it becomes my duty to report to you briefly the proceedings of that body, which are detailed in the documents herewith presented.

The Convention was composed of many able, experienced, and patriotic men, representing nearly all the free states and several of the slave states. Some of them were the descendants of those who pledged their "lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor" to defend the principles of the Declaration of Independence. Not a few were men who, in past political trials, in which they acted conspicuous parts, had differed widely, though always emulating each other in their defence of the cherished principles of human liberty and the right of self-government.

A common *sentiment* inspired all hearts—a common purpose united all hands in the convention, and those differences were forgotten—that *sentiment* was the love of freedom—that purpose was resistance to the extension of slavery. The Convention felt the great responsibility of inaugurating a national party upon this basis, but they also felt that freedom was yet national and slavery was sectional in the hearts of the American people, and they were encouraged to believe, from the expressions of popular sentiment, that notwithstanding the strenuous efforts made in certain quarters to *crush out* the spirit of opposition to the slave power, that slave spirit was not yet crushed out; but that so far from being extinguished, it was burning brighter, and promised to illuminate the whole land.

In view of the object of the Convention, they thought it a fit occasion to recur to the first principles of government and consider the state of the Union in reference to those principles, as cherished and defended by their fathers, and it was conceded there, as it is wherever men *dare* to express their opinions, that we have reached a point in our history where we must decide whether our mission to the nations is finally to proclaim freedom and good will to men, or to propagate human slavery under theegis of the Constitution by the power of the federal government.

That is the issue presented to us by the apologists of slavery extension, and the federal administration its exponent and supporter. While that administration is declaring this faith, and avowing the determination to subdue all opposition to the extension of slavery into the fair territories of the Union, if need be, by the power of the sword, in defiance of all opposition, your representatives would have been unfaithful to themselves and to you if they had declined the challenge. They accepted it, and declared in language which they trust you will approve, that

We do therefore declare to the people of the United States, as the objects for which we unite in political action:

*First:* We demand, and shall attempt to secure, the repeal of all laws which allow of the introduction of slavery into territories once consecrated to freedom, and will resist, by every constitutional means, the existence of slavery in any of the territories of the United States.

*Second:* We will support by every lawful means our brethren in Kansas in their constitutional and manly resistance to the usurped authority of their lawless invaders, and will give the full weight of our political power in favor of the immediate admission of Kansas to the Union as a free, sovereign, independent state.

*Third:* Believing that the present national administration has shown itself to be weak and faithless, and that its continuance in power is identified with progress of slave power to national supremacy, with exclusion of freedom from the territory, and with increasing civil discord, it is a leading purpose of our organization to resist and overthrow it.

It is a practical question which the American people are now required to decide; and in doing so, let every man come forth and perform his duty to the Constitution—to liberty—to his country, and his God. Let the freemen of every party, who witnessed with indignation the overthrow of the Missouri Compromise by the combined forces of avarice, treachery, and ambition, lend their aid to defeat the consummation of the scheme.

Let the men who hailed the admission of California into the Union as a free state—the Queen, herself, of the Pacific—grateful for that preservation of her interests and her honor, unite to rescue the latest and feeblest victim in Kansas from the oppressor. Let all good men lay aside old party prejudices, and combine to restore the federal government to its legitimate sphere of executing the powers conferred upon it by the Constitution. This is the basis on which the Republican movement rests, and these are some of the leading principles which the Convention intend to recommend. They did not deem it necessary or expedient to discuss the moral, social, or economical influence of slavery upon its masters and owners, or their position in the ranks of modern Christian civilization, preferring to offer to them the fraternal hand of fellowship in aid of their progress to the principles and benefits of freedom.

William M. Evarts, Esq., one of the gentlemen who, in 1850, took a conspicuous part in the famous Castle Garden meeting, under the delusion which few men as sensible as he shared, that the safety of the Union required the passage of the Compromises of that year, then came forward to move the acceptance of the report. He made the motion, and he made a speech also; and we speak the unanimous voice, we believe, of all present, when we say it was one of the most effective and eloquent political speeches they ever listened to. Nor did it, like most political speeches, consist merely of transient effects, but it abounded in rhetorical and logical combinations, which are destined to take a permanent place among the artillery accumulating against the day of need in the great arsenal of freedom. He spoke as follows:

#### SPEECH OF WILLIAM M. EVARTS.

Mr. President and Gentlemen: In moving, sir, as I now do, the acceptance by this meeting of the report of the Pittsburgh Convention, which has been so impressively introduced to our attention, I shall consult the proprieties of the occasion, and my own disposition, no less than that of this audience, by making a brief suggestion as to some of the principal features of the call, the occasion, and the cause that has brought us together.

Your call supposes, sir, that the present administration of federal power has adopted a policy, and is pursuing a measure for the extension of slavery over territories once secured to freedom—that the first step in this aggressive movement was a disturbance of a solemn arrangement, which had been entered into between the two opposing interests; a sentiment which divided the country, and a violation of the good faith in which that arrangement was cemented, and with which it has been hitherto observed and defended. It supposes that this course of federal politics is a departure from the sensible, necessary, and primary principle on which our government was founded, and the purposes for which it was organized, and has hitherto been maintained, and it shows us that the public welfare requires that this evil legislation should be reconsidered; that this violated faith should be reconstructed, and that the principles and practice of the federal government should be restored to those which were professed and acted upon by Washington and Jefferson, and which are alone compatible with our honor, our dignity, and our safety as a people. (Loud applause.) Now, Mr. President, let us consider what the three great steps of the federal government by federal legislation have been, on this subject of slavery.

At the very outset of our government the common territory, unoccupied by any state jurisdiction, was all devoted by a solemn ordinance to freedom forever. That was the sentiment—that was the action of the founders of the Republic in 1787, and re-enacted in 1789. All was not too much then to give to freedom, and all agreed that all was not too much for freedom. (Loud cheers.) Now, at that time Mr. Madison thus expressed himself, in reference to the federal constitution in this aspect. He said that he took it that the Constitution was formed in order that the government might save herself from the reproaches, and her posterity from the imbecilities which are always attendant upon a country filled with slaves. (Applause.)

General Lee, of Virginia, says that the Constitution has done as much as it ought to do, but he lamented that it had not contained some provision for the gradual abolition of slavery. This was the action, this the sentiment then. (Loud cheers.) Just one-third of a generation passes away, just one generation of men is withdrawn from the scene, and precisely the same question is presented to the American people as to the future fate of its new territory then coming up for occupation by civilized men. And then, gentlemen, in order to obtain one-half of that territory for freedom, there must be paid out of that half a region large enough for a kingdom as a ransom for the rest. (Cheers.) Mark how the American people and American statesmen and American politicians have changed in thirty-three years!

But, Mr. President, thirty-three years now roll over again. That generation of statesmen has passed off the stage. In the year 1854 the question is again presented to the American people, the American statesmen, and the American Congress—what shall we do between slavery and freedom? Then the ransom paid for the half of the territory is forgotten, and then, by direct federal legislation, it is determined that the half that was given in the generation ago, shall be taken back by our generation and in our day. (Cheers.) This is the second step.

Now let me imagine that another third of a century has passed away—that our generation is withdrawn from the stage—and when we come to the year '87, the date of the ordinance of freedom, and the year '89, the date of the first free republic of modern times, how shall we show our progress, how shall we mark our statesmanship, if the same path be pursued, but by a solemn declaration that henceforth, in all the territories of the United States, slavery and involuntary servitude shall be forever by law established? (Cheers.) There is nothing else for us to do. We gave once all to freedom. We gave next half to slavery. We take away next the half given to freedom, and there is nothing left for us. Wherever Freedom dwells under our flag, Slavery follows close after her. (Applause.)

There is this great and solemn lesson taught by the review, and that is, that no succeeding generation has corrected the error, or retraced the step of its predecessors, and the solemn monition is put to us that we should follow quickly this action by reaction. It is for you now who have seen this thing done to undo it. It is for you to protest. (Cheers.) Now, we suppose that this subject of the extension of slavery to territories, which if they have any government are governed by the federal power, is a legitimate subject of federal politics, and we intend to act accordingly. We suppose that it is a more important subject of federal politics than any others, and we intend to act accordingly. We have called you together, and you have responded to the call in one of those echoes which are heard from one quarter of the land to the other. This is a practical question. It is a question of making this sentiment felt in the way that politicians understand—by votes, by influence, by condemnation of the bad and by the support of the good. (Cheers.)

We do not intend to be misled into any inquiry or sympathy, however aggravating the wrong of the slave may be. We do not intend to be drawn into any discussion of mere ethics, or of mere philanthropy for the "inferior race," as they are called by our southern brethren. We do not intend to unsettle any social relation, but we intend to exercise the clear right of freedom in determining that new and large regions shall be devoted to free labor upon the one hand, and to the exclusion of slavery upon the other. (Loud cheers.) In determining this principle, we have no occasion to quarrel with any of the dogmas that are assumed or argued by those who have an interest in slavery.

It is said by them that slavery in this country has been productive of unmixed good to the negro. So be it, if they can prove it. But it is our opinion it has been productive of unmixed evil to the white man.

They say that slavery is the only relation which is possible in a society which is composed of blacks and whites and mixed races. So be it, if they can prove it. But that only adds to the rectitude of our opinion that no new territory should be occupied by mixed races. (Cheers.)

Now, there is another argument by which the slave-holding interest treats the efforts of the freemen of the North to get possession of some part of these territories. It is said that they have been won by our common blood and treasure. Well now, if this were an argument to show that the black race ought to be allowed to go into a new territory—if it was pretended that they had been won by the common blood and treasure of the blacks of the South and the white men of the North, I could understand the force of the argument. (Applause.)

It has been won by the common blood and treasure of the white men of the whole country; and if God assist the efforts we commence to-night, it shall be occupied by the white men of the whole country. (Cheers.)

Well, it is said that it is the part of brethren to occupy their common heritage in peace and quiet, and that the white man of the South and the white man of the North should go together and possess the land; but there is one difficulty about this business. It does not depend upon the law of Congress or the law of any State, but it is written in the hearts of the free laborers of our country that they will not work side by side with slaves. (Cheers.) Labor, gentlemen, we acknowledge to be the source and basis of all our wealth, of all our progress, of all our dignity and value, but it is the labor of the free man. (Cheers.) Carry through this campaign the principle that the land of the United States which is not inclosed within state limits belongs to the white citizens of the United States. There is nothing revolutionary I take it in that. Slavery, as a special interest, does not stand different from other interests. In my judgment, the slave interest is no more entitled to the control and protection of this country than the financial or tariff interests. (Applause.) The people should govern the country, or the people should desert the country—one thing or the other.

Another thing in our republican organization is, that we are comprehensive in our politics, and not sectional. Now, white men live all over the country, but black men are geographically situated. (Laughter.) The party of slavery is necessarily a geographical party—it is a geographical party in fact and it is a geographical party by the lines of industry, which can make that institution live only in the climate of the South. But free labor can live everywhere. (Applause.) Ours, then, is the comprehensive party—theirs is the geographical party. (Cheers.)

But there is, gentlemen, a much more serious evil in our politics than this I have alluded to—I mean that controlling division called by the odious names of North and South. Why, our country has grown very much since these names originated. When the Constitution was formed, the whole population of the United States resided on a strip of territory along the Atlantic coast; and then the country was necessarily divided into a North and South, for it was all East and no West. But I should think, that, with the growth of our institutions and population until they now occupy the continent, and look out upon the broad Pacific, it might be conceded that there was something besides a North and a South—that there was an East, a Centre, and a West. (Loud applause.) Now, we know that we stand, not by the North, not by the South, but by the labor of free men, wherever they are, and against slavery and the lovers of slavery wherever they are. (Cheers.) We expect to find lovers of freedom in Maryland, in Virginia, in Missouri, in Kentucky, in Tennessee, in Texas, and in every southern state. We know we shall find lovers of slavery in Massachusetts, in New Hampshire, in New York, in New Jersey, in Pennsylvania, and in every free state; and if there be anything geographical in that discrimination of parties, it is the geography of the United States. (Laughter and Applause.)

There is another very great difficulty which the North—I will not say "North," for I have eliminated that phrase from our politics; but which the free states of this country greatly suffer from. I mean the *degradation of politics*. We have had left among us, until recently, great statesmen, great orators, great public men; but these gentlemen had commenced their career under the impulses and influences of the new government, and the general principles of freedom and equality with which the new government started. When, however, slavery came to control the government of its own states, and by that means to control the federal government and the politics of the free states through its patronage, to feed ambition, I can tell you that, so far as I know, though the old men may be content to acquiesce, the educated, intelligent, public-spirited young men of the North have studied, and will study, anything but politics which teaches them their degradation. (Cheers.)

But roll back the tide: let it be understood that instead of your accomplished diplomatists and jurists being interrogated before they can receive admission at Washington as to what they think about slavery, that it may be seen if they are acceptable to the South—change the tone of the question—encourage a free expression of opinion on that as on other subjects—and you will have your politics purified. Our duty has a higher consideration than all this. (Cheers.)

Let me ask your attention for a moment to an incident of the last winter. The unthought rigor of the season had spanned the Ohio with a *free* bridge. (Applause.) A poor slave-mother, with all the treasure that she had in the world—her children, from a growing boy and beautiful girl to an infant upon her breast—

had passed over that free bridge, without let or hindrance, and was on the free soil of Ohio. (Applause.)

The power of the federal government, under a law of which I have no complaint to make, pursued that slave-mother to send her back to servitude; and, not able to release herself, she let out the spirit of her child into the free light of heaven, even through the dark portal of death. (Loud applause.) If it was noble and brave in the stern Cato to taunt the Roman Senate with their long delay as to which of the two they would choose, slavery or death, who shall say it was ignominious in that poor slave-mother, by a quick decision and a flashing execution, to determine that question for her posterity. (Prolonged cheers.) Ah! gentlemen, one touch of nature makes the whole world kin; and there are many of us who feel a greater pride in sharing the bright red blood that ran through a heart bounding for freedom, under the dark bosom of that poor slave-mother, far greater than that we share in common with the pale faces of some of the statesmen of the North. (Cheers and laughter.)

Thus much for illustration of what is the lesson that I would teach. The infant state of Kansas now reposes upon the bosom of the American people. The vows that swore she should be born free have been violated; the charter of her manumission has been repudiated, and she was born exposed to slavery. A manly band of freemen has saved that infant state; but the federal government is now fast pursuing to snatch it from their protection and from yours; and if you admire the spirit of the poor slave woman of Kentucky, that would treat her offspring thus to save them from slavery, what shall I say to you to induce you to come forward to save Kansas, and her millions to be born, from that slavery from which a noble band of freemen have rescued her? (Applause.) Are the slaves of Kentucky of nobler blood than the freemen of New York? (Cheers, and cries of "No.")

But, gentlemen, it is said that "the Union must and shall be preserved," (laughter,) and that is the principal object of my speech to-night. (Renewed laughter.) I should suppose that eighteen hundred years without a new experiment had furnished illustration enough of the loud shouts which may be put forth in defence of the shrine of the "Great Diana of the Ephesians," when the real interest of the shouters was concerned in the business of "Alexander the Copper-smith." (Laughter.) And for all that class of shouters for the preservation of the Union, I have no respect. (Cheers.) Their occupation and government of the country, through the slave interest is the "business of Alexander the Copper-smith," and they must save Diana's shrine, in order to support that business. (Cheers and laughter.)

But there is a very large class of most worthy and patriotic citizens, who are justly sensitive upon any subject which looks askance on good faith and good feeling; though how they can complacently look on and recognize good faith or good feeling in the bad faith and bad feeling practised upon the other side of the Union, I do not know. (Cheers.) Now, this class has found an eloquent voice in the speech and letter of an accomplished orator of New England, in which he closes by expressing the sentiment that he "cannot unite with any band which does not follow the flag and keep step to the music of the Union." These are my sentiments precisely. (Cheers.) But it becomes important to know what the flag and what the music of the Union is. I am not myself sensible of any strange transformation of the American people, which, in the course of seventy years, should change the noble hymn of American Freedom from being the music of the Union into a sing-song chaunt in praise of African slavery. (Applause.)

And, as to the "flag of the Union," I would say to that elegant orator, that the greatest statesman of New England, when, in possession of his best reasoning powers and overwhelming oratory, he stood up to support the Union and Constitution, could give him a description of that flag. It is "the gorgeous ensign of the Republic, now known and honored throughout the earth—still full, high advanced—its arms and trophies streaming in their original lustre—not a stripe erased or polluted, nor a single star obscured—but everywhere, spread all over, in characters of living light, blazing on all its ample folds as they float over the sea and over the land, and in every wind under the whole heavens, that sentiment dear to every true American heart—'Liberty and Union, now and forever—one and inseparable!'" That is the flag of the Union which you and all of us will follow, and keep step to the music of the shouts of freemen that attend it. (Cheers.)

But when we find that flag in the hands of whatever standard-bearers—when



ther they assume the honored name of the democratic party, or any other—and notice that it is unfurled, with every stripe polluted, and every star obscured—all its floating glories darkened, and its ennobling sentiment giving place to the shocking motto of “Slavery and Union—now and forever—one and inseparable”—then will we trample that flag in the dust, and strike down that standard-bearer, as a conspirator against the public freedom, and a traitor to the honor and freedom of the Union. (Prolonged applause.)

When the applause had measurably subsided, the report presented by the Hon. Abijah Mann was unanimously adopted.

The Chairman then said: I have the pleasure of introducing to the meeting the Hon. John A. Bingham, member of the House of Representatives from the state of Ohio. (Applause.)

#### SPEECH OF HON. JOHN A. BINGHAM.

MR. BINGHAM said: I was impressed with the remarks of your honorable chairman in referring to the call which had convened this vast assembly of the friends of freedom, that it was to bring back the government of the United States to the policy of Washington and Jefferson. Those words were expressed, my fellow-citizens, by that old Continental Congress that met at the outbreaking of the war of the revolution, when they said to their countrymen: “We have come together to take care of the liberty of the country.” The people of the Empire State—the people, thank God, of every free State in the Union—are this day mustering their forces to take care of the liberty of country—(applause)—to bring back the Government, under the Constitution of the United States, to the policy of Washington and Jefferson. (Cheering.)

It is with shame and humiliation that an American citizen confesses—but he must confess it, for the fact stands in his path—that the Constitution of this country, which Washington and his peerless associates gave us, is this day put upon trial. Those whose special duty it was to keep watch and ward over that sacred instrument have betrayed it, defiled it, and polluted it. (Applause.) They have struck from that hallowed parchment those thrilling words which stand in the very introduction of it: We, the people of the United States, in order to establish justice—the imperishable attribute of God—to secure liberty—the imperishable right of man—to ordain “and establish the Constitution.” Those thrilling words, I say, are to be taken from that instrument, and in their stead are to be written, “injustice,” and “oppression.” And then the instrument will read: We, the people of the United States, in order to establish *injustice*, and to secure to ourselves and our posterity the blessings of *despotism*, do ordain and establish this Constitution. The question is: Shall that obliteration be made? (“No, no.”)

No man at all conversant with the history of this country can fail to perceive that a great change has been manifested in the deportment of the Government at Washington. The policy there is as diametrically opposed to the policy of Washington and Jefferson as was the policy of Russia to that of Washington and Jefferson. They made no attempt to satisfy the people of the United States, but they were banded together for the purpose of maintaining the institution of human slavery. No idea of that kind ever entered into the thoughts of the men who formed the Constitution under which we live. Washington said: “The principles of the Constitution of the United States are entirely free.” Those are the words which he employed in that farewell address which he gives to us his last legacy. He says that the principles of the Government of the United States are completely free. (Cheers.) And in another part of the same address he tells us that the community of government which constitutes us one people is dear to us, and it is justly so because it is the main pillar in the defence of our independence, the support of tranquillity at home, of peace abroad, and of our prosperity in that very liberty which we so highly prize.

This was the great idea of Washington, that the principles of our government are entirely free, and the Constitution of the United States constitutes us one people, one in interest, and one in destiny. And, catching the great spirit of Washington, our Webster tells that we have but one country, one constitution, and one destiny. What, now, is the language of this administration? That we are a confederation of separate sovereign and independent States; not being one people at all, not having one interest at all, and not having one destiny at all; but a set of sovereign and independent States, banded together for the purpose—among other things—of maintaining the worst system of despotism the world ever saw. (Sensation.)

I find in a certain message addressed to the Thirty-fourth Congress of the United States of America, dated the 31st of December, 1855, and signed Franklin Pierce, this strange language: "That the Congress of the United States is in effect that Congress of sovereignties which good men in the old world have sought for but could never obtain. Our co-operative action rests on the conditions of permanent confederation prescribed by the Constitution. Our balance of power is in the separate reserved rights of the States;" and after reasoning on about this confederation of States as though the old articles of confederation had not perished with the last battle of the revolution, and had been superseded by this new covenant of freedom, which bears first the name of Washington, and afterward that scarcely less renowned name, your own Alexander Hamilton—(Cheers)—after characterizing that Union as a mere bond of confederation, he goes on and uses these other words, which come in direct conflict with those thrilling words of Washington: "That the principles of our government are perfectly and entirely free." He says: "Hence, while the general Government, as well by the enumerated powers granted to it as by those not enumerated, and therefore refused to it, was forbidden to touch that matter, in sense of attack or offence, and it was placed under the general safeguard of the Union in the sense of defence against either invasion or domestic violence." Placed under the general safeguard of the Union! What! placed under the safeguard of the Union! Why, my fellow-citizens, I have been disposed to look upon this Union as a sacred and a holy thing—a perpetual bond of brotherhood, made, signed, and ratified by the old men of the revolution, who had worked out the emancipation of themselves and their posterity on a hundred fields of battle. The Union of these States I thought was a bond of brotherhood, cemented together by the blood of patriots and martyrs, for the purpose of establishing justice and securing the blessings of liberty—(cheering)—and not for the purpose of perpetuating the system of slavery. (Applause.) I know that when this Union began to be, slavery existed in every one of the thirteen States; but I know also—and I thank God for the conviction, resting as strong as knowledge upon my mind—that it did not exist by reason of any agreement of the old men of the revolution who won our independence for us, but that it existed in spite of and against their protest. (Cheering.) I tell you that this system of African slavery, which seeks to penetrate the human soul and put out the light of that understanding which the breath of Almighty hath kindled there, is not indigenous to American soil. It is exotic. (Applause.) It is the offspring of despotism. It clings to the sceptre and to the throne. (Cheering.)

No man need tell me that the old king-killing Puritans, who gathered up their wives and their children and their household gods, and committed all to an unknown sea and to the keeping of Him who sitteth upon the floods, and who holdeth the waters in the hollow of his hand, that they came for the purpose of forging fetters for human limbs. I can tell you that they had a nobler and a sublimer mission; it was to found here what the world had never seen—a church without a Pope and a State without a king. (Immense cheering.) I know that that despotic power from which they fled, under the darkness and the cover of the night—for you know that it was under the darkness and the cover of the night that those old men who laid the foundation of Massachusetts colony escaped from the graves of their fathers and the scenes of their childhood—I know, gentlemen, that that despotic power from which they fled pursued them into the wilderness.

I know that the flag of St. George floated in every sea, over the kidnapped children of Africa; but I know that the colonists rejected the attempt to fasten here in their midst the system of menial bondage. They loathed the idea. They had found out long before that the sublime truth that God had made of one blood all nations of men who dwell upon this earth. (Loud cheering.) And hence I say it, and I say it gladly here to-night, that Virginia, the mother of dead heroes, and dead patriots and dead statesmen, but, thank God! the mother of living empires—Virginia was the first among the family of nations to raise her voice against this infernal traffic. (Applause.) And now we are to be told that the Union was formed for the purpose of perpetuating it. I deny it. (Loud cheers.) I say that the history of our country—and you know that history never lies—falsifies the assertion. I have only to turn you to that history.

Bear with me a moment while I call your attention to the fact that the people in the State of Virginia, in all or nearly all her counties, met in her primary assemblages before the first blood flowed at Lexington, and protested against this traffic.

(Applause.) I beg to read here one or two resolutions, because they happen to bear directly upon that question of freedom or slavery in Kansas. I find, my fellow-citizens, that in June, 1774, there was a general meeting of the freeholders and inhabitants of Prince George's county, in Virginia, wherein it was resolved, among other things, "that the African trade is injurious to the colony, because it obstructs the population of it by freemen, prevents manufacturers and other useful people from settling, and occasions an annual increase in the balance of trade against this colony." Because it obstructs the population of it by freemen!

I find that a similar meeting was held in Culpepper county, in Virginia, at about the same time, and another in Nansemond county, and another on the 16th of July, in the county of Fairfax, George Washington, Esquire, in the chair (enthusiastic applause,) at which it was resolved "that it is the opinion of this meeting that during our present difficulties and distress, no slaves ought to be imported into any of the British colonies, and in this connection, we take this opportunity of declaring our most earnest wish to see an entire stop put forever to such a wicked, cruel and unnatural trade." (Loud applause.) They had no idea of putting it under the perpetual safe-guard of the Union—(laughter and applause)—they wished to put a stop forever to such a cruel, wicked and unnatural trade. (Cheers.) This sentiment was not confined to Virginia; I told you that it was everywhere—that it run through all the colonies.

I note, amongst other things, the resolution and declaration of the State of Georgia, in the year 1775, in the very same spirit. They declared their disapprobation and abhorrence of the unnatural practice of slavery in America. Next the State of Georgia issued a resolve against the perpetuation of slavery. As a step further, Congress assembled at Philadelphia, and entered into what is known as the "Articles of Association," and I regret that I have them not here this evening. These constituted articles of association, and of the public policy of the United States, and I beg leave here to state that to all these articles are appended, without one exception, all the representatives in this Congress, and that they declared that they would have no intercourse with any State that continues the unnatural and infernal traffic in the souls and bodies of men, (cheers,) and I find, my fellow-citizens, as one of the signers of those Articles of Association, the name of George Washington. (Long continued cheers.)

Then we follow this movement into another step. Anterior to the Declaration of Independence, they framed an address against the grievances imposed by the British king, and then they appealed from the throne, and from Parliament to the great heart of the British nation, and issued an address to that people directly, and this was signed also by the representatives of each of the thirteen colonies, and among these signatures stands "in letters of living light" the immortal name of Washington, (cheers,) and in that address occur words strongly denouncing traffic in slaves. And those words ought to blister the faces of those men at the American capitol who try to prostitute the Constitution and the Union of the States to the unhallowed purpose of perpetuating American slavery, (cheers)—a system which had its lodgment in the several States, which was wholly local, and with which the United States has nothing to do. An attempt was made to introduce slavery into the Constitution.

Mr. BUTLER, of South Carolina—I do not wish to speak unkindly of South Carolina, I do not intend to say anything disrespectful of that State, but I say that she is unfortunate. (Laughter and cheers.) It was left for the representative of South Carolina alone to do this, and I am sorry to say that he bears the name of the distinguished chairman of this meeting, (Laughter.) Well, Mr. Madison—who is sometimes called the Father of the Constitution, and I believe rightly—said that that clause must not go into the Constitution of the United States—"Because we intend this Constitution to be the great charter of human liberty to the unborn millions who shall enjoy its protection, and who should never see that such an institution as slavery was ever known in our midst." (Cheers.)

Why, these men intended that the institution should die, as they had found out the great truth that a lie cannot live forever, that it *must* die. (Cheers.) And the idea that one man has the right to make merchandise of the bones and sinews of another, is a stupendous lie, and cannot live. (Cheering.) Why, they never dreamed of perpetuating slavery. The very bell which with iron tongue summoned these old men together, to frame the immortal Declaration, in which they declared, "that all men are created free and equal, and that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights," that old bell had inscribed on it these

words: "Proclaim liberty throughout all lands, to *all* the inhabitants thereof." Yet they wanted to establish a Union in order to place the institution of slavery under a safeguard, or in the words of President Pierce, "in the sense of defence and protection. (Laughter.)

Well, gentlemen, an Alabama senator named Clay—it was not *the* Clay—it was not the immortal man whose ashes sleep in the shades of Ashland, from whose flaming tongue leaped those burning words: "So long as reason holds a seat in my brain; so long as God allows the vital current to flow through my veins, never, never, never, by word or note or action, will I help to give one rood of free territory to the blighting curse of human bondage." I say, Mr. President, it was not that Clay, but another Clay altogether (laughter)—Clay of Alabama (renewed laughter)—in the Senate of the United States, had found out, in reading some speeches in that instrument of free thought, that infernal machine, the unfettered Press of the North, that one Wm. H. Seward (deafening cheers) had ventured to say that this thing should not be perpetuated, and he considered it an unpardonable sin to say that the institution was not to last forever.

Now, the people of the United States, and especially of the Free North, have no notion of that kind; they understand well enough that there is nothing eternal but God. Truth and Justice—their hope and confidence has always been in the ultimate triumph of truth and justice. I tell you that the great throbbing, pulsating heart of every lover of freedom throughout this land have caught the spirit-stirring echoes of your own immortal poet, (turning to Mr. Bryant.) Immortal, I say, before he has yet tasted death (three cheers for Mr. Bryant.) I say the spirit of the great heart of the American people have caught the truthful and immortal sentiment of your own poet—

"Truth crushed to earth will rise again—  
The eternal years of God are hers:  
But error wounded writhes in pain,  
And dies amid her worshippers." [Cheers.]

They have no idea that any system of wrong, in this or any other land, shall be perpetual. (Cheers.) They have caught the sentiment of old blind John Milton, "that truth is invincible, irresistible, immortal, and incorruptible." (Cheers.) Those stern old men in '76 pledged their lives and sacred honor to maintain these sentiments, that all men are endowed by their Creator, not by human laws, with life and liberty, and, therefore, they said that the writ of manumission was written by an imperishable power. And, at that moment, there was nowhere in the civilized world a free state where the hated system of African slavery was not recognized, and these thirteen colonies all recognized it.

Soon after, actuated by the spirit of our fathers, the system was repudiated by the New England states, then by New York and New Jersey, and afterward by other states, without any interference of the general government, and this spirit permeated the entire heart of the South. Kentucky, in amending her constitution, attempted to incorporate a law against slavery, and was followed by many other states. And in the formation of the territory northwest of the Ohio the same spirit was manifested. The idea of liberty was abroad in all the lands. The country generally did not seem to know that the Constitution was the supreme law of the land—the Constitution which says that no person shall be deprived of liberty or life, but by due process of law.

I said the Constitution is the supreme law of the territories. The ordinance of '87 was eminently just, and it stood the perpetual law of that Northwest Territory. Why, it is but seventy years—the ordinary period allotted as the measure of human life—since that enactment took place under the Constitution of the United States—since that vast territory, known as the Northwest Territory, stretching from the banks of our beautiful Ohio away to the base of the Rocky Mountains, was one vast unbroken wilderness, uninhabited by civilized man. Behold the beneficent results of this system of free legislation, of those enactments which Washington taught us to make for the protection of American soil against the ingress of any despotic or crushing tyranny whatever. Behold, I say, its beneficent results within seventy years. Five great states, having all the elements of a great, elevated and enlightened civilization—Ohio, Wisconsin, Michigan, Illinois and Indiana—they are the offspring of this legislation in favor of freedom.

Tell me whether Washington and his associates have done wisely in taking care to secure by law that territory for the homes of the Free. (Loud cheers.)

Look at their free schools—look at their churches, their free presses, their intelligence, their thrifty population and their happy homes—all the growth of seventy years. Why, it is a miracle in the history of nations. In the despotism of the old world, ages were but as years in national growth and existence; they can show nothing like this. Nothing like it can be shown since Nimrod, the mighty hunter, founded the first empire. A thousand years since Ruric founded that first empire, in the presence of which all Europe has trembled; a thousand years have passed since Charlemagne wore his iron crown in France; a thousand years have rolled away since Alfred gave laws and manners to England; but here in seventy years has an empire been founded, which, in all the elements of a great, free and independent state, survives them all. (Loud cheers.)

Fellow-citizens, after so brilliant a result as this, the question is now raised at this late day, before the American people, whether we shall abandon this policy of Washington—whether we shall strike down this covenant in favor of liberty—whether we shall blast that virgin territory, larger in extent than the territory of the thirteen original colonies, with the manacled footsteps of the bondman? ("No, no.") That is the question this day presented. As was well remarked by your chairman, a third of a century ago, the people of the United States, through their representatives, assembled in Congress, in the year 1820, in imitation of the great example of Washington, declared by law that all that vast tract of country lying north of 36th parallel of north latitude should be forever free; that no man should, in all coming time be deprived of life or liberty, or property throughout that vast domain except by due process of law as a punishment for crime upon due conviction. That was the law, and it continued to be the law for a period of thirty-three years; but strange to say, in these latter times a man came before the people—a very remarkable man, gifted with a mighty and stupendous intellect, in the presence of whom I cannot but bow with homage, and who has since been gathered to his fathers. This great man, when Secretary of State of the United States, took it into his mind that he would bend the Constitution, the principles of which, in the language of Washington, were perfectly free—bend that immortal instrument to the business of perpetuating and extending the system of domestic slavery. I speak of Mr. Calhoun of South Carolina. There was a tract of territory four times the size of New York carved out of the Empire of Mexico known as the state of Texas, conquered by certain men who went there chiefly to establish the system of African slavery. They opened a new market for the slaves of Virginia. The Supreme Court of the United States had recognized the principle that slavery was purely local. All the judges, including Chief Justice Taney, with but one exception, decided that the institution was entirely and altogether local, and depended for its existence upon territorial authority. The case was this: The state of Mississippi, by its amended constitution, had provided that slaves brought from neighboring states for sale, should be confiscated. After the decision of the Supreme Court, what was left for these gentlemen but to conquer new territories? for slavery was interdicted in the territories then unoccupied by the Missouri Compromise, though Missouri, Arkansas and Louisiana and Florida had been admitted. What other way was left them to dispose of their surplus property? Mr. Calhoun said the empire of slavery must be extended under the American flag and under the national arm.

As Secretary of State under John Tyler—a man whom I believe, Mr. President, you were not guilty of voting for—(laughter)—though I was, and I am sorry for it, misfortunes do make strange bed-fellows for all of us—(renewed laughter)—I say that when the question was whether Texas, which was still struggling with Mexico, should be recognized by Great Britain as a separate independent republic on condition that she should be a free republic, or whether she should be annexed to the government of the United States as a slave state, Mr. Calhoun addressed letters to our Ministers in France and England, asking them to have France interpose in the recognition of Texas as a free sovereignty, and telling them frankly as the reason why that she must be annexed to the United States, and that the continuance of the domestic institution of slavery depended upon that annexation. That was the proposition.

What then took place? The heart of the whole North revolted at the proposed sacrilege—at the attempt to lend the government of the United States to any such unhallowed work. That old man eloquent who stood sentinel in the cause of freedom, lifted his voice like a trumpet against the proposed treason. (Cheers.) The

heart of the nation responded. Mr. Van Buren addressed a powerful and thrilling appeal to the people of the United States against that profound iniquity, and the great heart of the democracy of the North responded to the appeal. The great patriotic man of Kentucky, Henry Clay, joined with Mr. Van Buren and John Quincy Adams in the denunciation of the treason, and I believe that the legislative assemblies of every free state in the North sent protests against it. Yet strange to say, it was consummated.

Behold the power of this despotic oligarchy of the South that has been ruling the freemen of the North during the past generations. The free press of the North, which had but just spoken out in clear and decided tones against that proposed act of wickedness, became suddenly as dumb as if the lightning of Damascus had struck them. They opened not their mouth. The democratic party of the North and the whig party of the South were struck dumb. The democratic party sacrificed Mr. Van Buren, and the whig party sacrificed their immortal leader, Henry Clay, because they would not lend their names to that proposed villainy. And what was the result? It was consummated, with this strange condition annexed, that four additional slave states might be carved out of that territory, which should be admitted as free or as slave states as the people therein might determine.

How was that consummation brought about? The House of Representatives would not yield to it, nor would the Senate, and it was found necessary to make another invasion of the Constitution to do it. First, the Constitution must be employed to bring in a foreign slave state to maintain an equilibrium of power. But the treaty-making power stood in their way. In order to pass a treaty of the United States it was necessary that it should have the assent of two-thirds of the Senate. And although they were ready to do almost anything, they could not persuade themselves to do this, and they could not get a two-thirds vote. So they dropped the treaty-making power and passed a joint resolution by a majority, and thereby a treaty was made which Mr. Pierce calls a compact. It was consummated without a two-thirds vote of the Senate, and at no subsequent time has it ever been ratified. Then comes the second step. They have got Texas, with four slave states, and now down comes the eighth section of the act of 1820, which excluded slavery from the Territory of Kansas.

In the democratic organ of the administration (not the organ of the democratic masses) at Washington tells us that the people of the United States have no right to intervene. The doctrine is non-intervention on the part of the people of the United States with the question of slavery in the territories, nor have they any right to interfere by the emigration of men to it; in short, that slavery must go into the territories of the Union. Who is it who undertakes to pass any such dictum? The leader of this assault upon the sovereignty of the people, upon the interests of millions who are in the enjoyment of their rights, is Stephen A. Douglas. But try him by the record. In 1844 that man was in the House of Representatives, and he voted for the prohibition of slavery in Oregon. He thought then that it was perfectly constitutional to prohibit slavery from that territory; and he took care to incorporate in the resolution the provision that all that portion of Texas lying north of the 36th parallel of latitude should be forever free. These attempts on the part of bankrupts in politics and bankrupts in morals, to bend the Constitution to their unhallowed purposes, will only result in a political damnation, complete and irretrievable. These base attempts will fail, if the people are only true to themselves, and their past history. The people, I feel confident in saying, will never consent that this now free territory which was bequeathed to them, to their children, and to their children's children, shall ever be desecrated by that most inhuman curse, which has already blighted so large a portion of our fair land. The man who shall persistently attempt to deliver it up to the merciless sway of the slave oligarchy, will deserve to have his name enrolled in history by the side of the traitor Benedict Arnold, and will gain credit by the association.

Mr. Bingham is evidently accustomed to think on his legs, and though he followed one who, while he spoke, had the audience all to himself, it was soon apparent that they had transferred their attention and their interest entirely to his successor. Mr. Bingham spoke about an hour, and made some capital points, to which the audience testified their lively appreciation by frequent and rapturous applause.

The chairman then stated that the Hon. James Harlan, United States Senator from Iowa, had accepted an invitation to be present and speak this evening, and that intelligence had reached the committee of his having left Washington on

Monday evening to fulfil his engagement, but that he had not reported himself in the Committee of Arrangements. If present, the chairman stated that the senator would give the audience great pleasure by taking the stand.

The Senator, however, did not appear—to the general disappointment of the audience, aggravated to some extent by the publicity given to his name as one of the promised speakers, and the absence of any explanation whatever of his failure to attend.

The chairman then called upon General James Nye, who soon dispelled the feeling of disappointment which prevailed at the moment among the body of his hearers.

Before the General commenced—it being already half-past ten o'clock—Mr. Butler requested Moses H. Grinnell, the first vice-president, to take the chair, and be retired. The orator then proceeded as follows:

#### GENERAL NYE'S SPEECH.

Mr. President and Fellow-Citizens: I do not know what to say. (Laughter.) It seems to me that all has been said that is necessary, to arouse us individually and collectively to a proper sense of our individual and collective duty in this coming contest. It seems to me that the classic Evarts and the eloquent and distinguished gentleman from Ohio (loud applause) have said enough for one time. Now, me you have always with you (laughter.) and therefore I think you had better excuse me, and go home on the feast you have already enjoyed. It would suit me much better.

The problem of human government is being worked out the world over. It is not only in this favored land that political revolutions are being wrought; they are world wide. Throughout the regions where emperors hold their sway and absolute and limited monarchs rule, there seems to be an upheaving, political or otherwise. It seems to me that the day is rapidly approaching when an independent people are to take the reigns of government in their own hands. (Applause.) It seems to me that the day has come, when you and I can say we are in favor of free territory for free men, without subjecting ourselves to excommunication from any party.

I lighted my youthful democratic taper at the full lighted and blazing lamp of the distinguished gentleman who sits here, (Wm. C. Bryant.) I believed then as he believed then, and I believe now as he believes, and for that belief we are an excommunicated people. I remember when the distinguished gentleman who now occupies the chair, (Mr. Butler,) was a whig all over. (Laughter.) I remember when many of his associates here were whigs from the crown of their heads to the soles of their feet; and now, because they, with us, are in favor of free territory for free men, they are excommunicated from the party. Well, I hope they will go on excommunicating till there is not a quorum in the church, nor a solitary high-priest left to perform the ceremony. (Laughter.)

I believe this intelligent audience is all excommunicated. (Renewed laughter.) There is, therefore, a stern necessity that we should form a new political church—new in its organization, but old as our fathers in principle. We tread upon the same ground our fathers trod upon, and preach the same doctrine they preached, and we are stigmatized for so doing. Principles that then attracted the attention of the whole world are ours, and for them we are denounced as Black Republicans. Well! if you mean by Black Republican a man who loves freedom better than slavery, I plead guilty to the charge. (Applause.) If you mean by Black Republican one who does not stifle the honest sentiment of his heart, I plead guilty to the charge. If you mean that we are determined to wrench from the grasp of slavery propagandists territory which was once consecrated to freedom forever, I plead guilty to the charge. If you mean that our hearts swell with sympathy for the brave spirits who are striving on the soil of Kansas to plant the seeds of human liberty, I plead a thousand times guilty, and thank God we are called Black Republicans. (Cheers and loud applause.) I care not what they call us; the great question to be determined is, have we a full consciousness that we are doing right?

But it is not strange, it is not unphilosophical, that the thrives of dying men should be the strongest. It is to be expected that we should receive our full share of abuse from those whom we labored to save, but I do not despair even of them. I remember where a man, who veritably believed he was doing God service, had a light flash upon him, and when blinded with its brightness, he saw that he was in

the wrong. I expect they will turn the scales from their eyes, too, when the places they now fill are filled by others. (Applause.) The eloquent gentleman from Ohio (cheers) has told you that John Milton in his blindness saw these political truths, and if he had not been blind his head would have gone to the block to answer for it. It was the same truth that brought Sidney's head to the block, and the axeman told him he might have a few moments yet to live, if he would use them to tell the people not to imbibе his principles, but he said to the axeman, "Strike! Sidney will never rise again till the resurrection." (Applause.)

We want a few Sidneys now—men who are bold enough to make martyrs for political truth. What a strange thing it is that we, now in the noonday of the 19th century, are called upon to declare and defend principles that drew every sword in the Revolution. How strange, where there is not one who has not tasted the sweets of freedom, that we should have to stand here and invoke attention to those sacred and immutable principles which were the pride and glory of our fathers!

Young men, I call upon you; your hands are almost upon the reins of the State, and you will soon be called upon to participate in the administration of government. Be true to the faith professed by the great men of the revolution, and stand by it whatever may betide. If there is a young man here who is willing to prove derelict to his duty, let him stand up; I want to see him and have his daguerreotype taken in my mind. (Laughter.) I knew there was none such here. Old men, where are you? Are you afraid of the dissolution of the Union? (Voices, "No," "no.") Young men, are you? ("No.") Well, you see, we are all Republicans—so it is best to receive the benediction and go home. (Applause. Voices, "Go on," "go on.")

Well, I will tell you something of the Republican platform. It is very simple—the most simple platform I have ever seen—it declares for freedom *everywhere*, and will not take anything else. Now, if there is any one who is not in favor of this, let him rise. There is none. I believe no government can prosper where labor is not ennobled, for who is there here that would wish to labor side by side with slaves and chattles? None.

Now, I will tell you another thing. I was laboring away in a political tour through the country last fall, and I talked with the people, and thought everybody was Republican, but when I came here I learned there were only 5,000 Republican votes cast in the city of New York. (A voice, "That was last year.") Well, will we poll any less than than five times five thousand next time? (Voice, "No.") Then New York will be itself again. In every place I see people moved by the same principles.

I ask you to see that the city of New York does her duty. Let her declare for freedom, and all the little cities around will join in and swell the universal strain for freedom. (Applause.) But in order to do this, we must form ourselves into a committee of the whole, and *work*. If you have a neighbor unsound, go to him, and remember milk for babes—give him milk first, he will soon get strong enough to eat meat. And I invoke from the poet, (Wm. C. Bryant,) the genius of poetry; for what nobler anthem can he strike than for liberty? (Applause.)

Gen. Nye then moved the following resolutions:

#### RESOLUTIONS.

*Resolved*, That the repeal of the "Missouri Compromise," the wanton renewal of the political agitation of the slavery question, the enultment of the whole power of the federal government in the extension of slavery over territory devoted by the most solemn pledge and compact to freedom, the continuance and protection given by the Executive of the Union to the violent and cruel tyranny established over the defenceless inhabitants of Kansas by the lawless population on its borders, and the audacious claim that the federal constitution is the charter, and the federal government should be the minister, of the maintenance and diffusion of slavery as a national institution, have forced upon the country the issue of slavery-extension or slavery-restriction for decision in the impending Presidential canvass.

*Resolved*, That our unalterable attachment to the great sentiments of justice and freedom which inspired the Declaration of our Independence and are wrought into the whole fabric of our Constitution, our faithful devotion to the dignity, integrity, peace and prosperity of the Union, our reverence for the memory of the founders of the magnificent system of government which has developed and protected the vast growth of this people to its present rank among the nations of the world, and of the great statesmen of the succeeding generation who have so firmly upheld what was so wisely established, compel us to postpone all other political questions, to forget all past political differences, and to unite for the restoration of the action and position of the federal government on the subject of slavery to the principles of Washington and Jefferson, as alone compatible with the honor and safety of the republic.



*Resolved*, That we have heard with great satisfaction, and sustain with a cordial approval, the proceedings of the Pittsburgh Convention, and avow the purpose ourselves to unite, and by every just influence to combine the efforts of our fellow-citizens for the organized maintenance, in the approaching Presidential canvass, of the political principles and objects proposed by that convention.

*Resolved*, That a committee of five, to be nominated by the chairman of this meeting, be appointed to act as the Executive Committee of the Republican party of the city of New York.

*Resolved*, That the Republican committees or associations of the several wards, in which they have been formed, be requested to report to the Executive Committee the names of their officers and the system of their organization, and that the wards in which no such committees or associations exist be requested to proceed, without delay, to complete their organization, and to report the same to the Executive Committee.

*Resolved*, That the ward committees or associations be requested to appoint two representatives each, to meet the Executive Committee in Convention, at such time and place as it may designate, for the election of delegates to the Republican State Convention, to be held at Syracuse, on the 25th May next.

The resolutions were then adopted with acclamation.

Loud calls were now made from all parts of the house for Greeley, who finally appeared, and was received with loud and prolonged cheers. He said:

#### SPEECH OF HENRY GREENEY.

Mr. Chairman and fellow-citizens,—There are other gentlemen present this evening who are expected to address you, and all I will venture to say, not being an invited speaker, will be comprised in five minutes. And what I shall say is this: Let us make the issue on which we go to the people, during this campaign, as direct, simple and practical as possible. That issue we have in the Kansas question. (Applause.) We have in Kansas a people oppressed under a foreign arm, and under the pretence of popular sovereignty. We have a young community knocking for admission into the Union as a free state, and their memorial to Congress is licked out of the Senate as if the people had no right to be represented there. We have three-quarters of her people in favor of a free state, and if they appeal to Congress their appeal must go to the people. They ask for admission into the Union—they appeal for protection against foreign invasion—for protection against violence and oppression—for protection against the false and treacherous officers of the government, placed over them ostensibly to protect them, but who are in league with their oppressors in crowding upon them a system of slavery.

Now, upon such an issue as this, we can appeal with irresistible power to the people. I would therefore leave hereafter to be hereafter—future is not to be future issues—and make as fully as we may the Kansas question the great issue. I would make it the sole issue in the election. *Shall Kansas be a free State?* That is a question which all men can appreciate. We already have the evidences of her desire to come among us with her free constitution; and let us see who they are that would drive her back from the halls of Congress—who disregarded her appeals, and by quibbles seek to keep her out till they can reduce her to slavery! Let us make this the issue; and flood every cabin and public place in the Union with our appeals, our facts, our arguments and our documents, in favor of her admission. Let us resolve that no question more vague, abstruse and indirect, shall be prominent with us, till this is settled; and that with every nerve, we will strive to make Kansas a free state. After that we can argue other questions.

WILLIAM CURTIS NOYES, in response to the general call of the audience and the request of the Chairman, now came forward. Though it was after eleven o'clock, his brief remarks were listened to with attention, and received with much enthusiasm. He said:

#### SPEECH OF WILLIAM CURTIS NOYES.

I should abuse your intelligence if I undertook to address you at any length to-night.

I hope you will not feel flattered if I tell you that this meeting is strangely composed: it is a kind of conglomeration of all parties. Here are soft-shells, hard-shell democrats, and some who have been supposed to be connected with the Albany Regency. Whigs, too, are here—not the fossiliferous whigs, (a laugh,) but whigs who live for the present—whigs of progress. Now, what has brought us together? What has produced this conglomeration of men who have never before acted together?

It is because the theory and practice of this Government, which was the theory and practice of the revolution, has been perverted, and is attempted to be perverted much more, into a government for the preservation of slavery; and if we do not oppose the efforts which are being made for this end they will not only make all the free territories slave territories, but they will subject the free States to slavery.

South Carolina is now clamoring for the restoration of the African slave trade, in opposition to the wishes and practices of the fathers of the revolution, as shown here to-night. One of the Georgians, a State which has been threatening disunion ever since I can remember, has boasted that he would yet call the roll of his slaves on Bunker-Hill Monument.

They have threatened, too, that they would bring their slaves into the State of New York, and hold them under the laws of Virginia, and if this is so, where is the freedom of the North? where is the liberty of the white race? A discussion is now pending in the United States Court, in which it is contended that the Constitution carries slavery into the free territories of the Union; if so, what is to become of the Constitution? what is to become of the rights of the free States? what is to become of the territories?

Now the question is, whether you will permit this, or whether you will not. What is your answer? shall it be done? (Voices—"No!" "No!") Then it shall not be done. There in Kansas, undoubtedly, the great battle is to be fought; it may be *fought* really; possibly it may be carried by the force of public sentiment, or it may be carried forcibly by fire-arms and bloodshed; but I believe if it is, that will be owing to the interference of the United States forces, and the blood of the martyrs that shall thus fall by an armed soldiery will again sow the seed of the church to blossom for liberty. And when these martyrs are buried, we may write over their tomb, as was written over the three hundred at Thermopylae, "Traveler, tell my countrymen that we lie here in obedience to freedom and the constitution." (Loud and long cheers.)

The Chairman then named the following gentlemen to constitute the Executive Committee, required by the 4th resolution:

ISAAC SHERMAN,  
GEORGE W. BRUNT,

WM. CURTIS NOYES,  
JOHN P. CUMMING,

CHARLES W. ELLIOT.

The Chairman announced that a large number of letters had been received from some of the most distinguished men in the country, but the lateness of the hour made it impracticable to read them to-night, but that they would be handed over to the press for publication. For the same reason, he declined to invite any more speakers to the stand; and the meeting adjourned, a little before 12 o'clock, with three cheers for Bingham, of Ohio.

#### LETTERS FROM AND TO THE COMMITTEE.

The invitation of the committee and a portion of the responses, referred to by the chairman, were as follows:

##### Invitation of the Committee.

New York, April 5th, 1856.

Sir: You are respectfully requested to attend a meeting of the citizens of New York opposed to the measures and policy of the present administration for the extension of slavery over territory embraced within the compact of the Missouri Compromise, and in favor of restoring the action and position of the federal government on the subject of slavery to the principles of Washington and Jefferson, to be held at the Broadway Tabernacle, on Wednesday, the 25d day of April next, at 7½ p. m.

The meeting is expected to represent the patriotism, intelligence and wealth of the metropolis; and we indulge the hope that it will be agreeable to you to lend the interest of your presence on the occasion.

Yours respectfully,

E. D. MORGAN,

C. C. LEIGH,

ANTHONY J. BLEECKER,

JOHN BIGELOW,

WM. M. EVARTS.

**From Senator Trumbull, of Illinois.**

WASHINGTON, April 26, 1856.

Gentlemen: Public duties here and other engagements, will prevent my attending the meeting of the citizens of New York, to be held on the 29th inst. My sympathies are with those who desire to see the federal government administered upon the principles enunciated by its founders; and it would seem to me, that all men who love the Union and wish its preservation, ought to unite to wrest the power and influence of the general government from the hands of those who are now prostituting them to the purposes of slavery extension.

Very respectfully,

LYMAN TRUMBULL.

**From the Hon. S. Galloway, of Ohio.**

WASHINGTON, April 26, 1856.

Dear Sir: I regret exceedingly that I cannot gratify my wishes, and meet your expectations, by attending your contemplated meeting on the 29th. In the judgment of friends (whom I have consulted as to the question of duty) it would be unwise for me to go, in the present state of affairs in the House of Representatives, especially as my vote could not be protected in my absence.

It is well known by those who know my position as a member of this House, that I cordially concur in principles and sentiments with those who will participate in your meeting, and hence I can safely say that I shall be with you in spirit, though absent in body. That your meeting may be crowned with the best results, and that a movement may be initiated in your city, which will expand until the Empire State, on account of its impassioned devotion to the great cause of freedom, shall appropriately lead the advancing and increasing host of the opponents of slavery, is my sincere wish.

Respectfully,

SAMUEL GALLOWAY.

E. D. Morgan, New York.

**From Mr. Fessenden.**

PORTLAND, April 27, 1856.

Dear Sir: Mr. W. P. Fessenden has requested me to express to you his thanks for your invitation for the 29th instant, and his regrets for being compelled to decline it. Since his return from Washington, he has been confined to his house by illness, and on that account will be unable to give himself the pleasure of meeting your committee on the 29th.

Very respectfully,

Hon. E. D. Morgan.

JAMES D. FESSENDEN.

**Letter from the Hon. N. P. Banks, Speaker of the House of Representatives.**

CITY OF WASHINGTON, 28th April, 1856.

Gentlemen: The city of New York has, if possible, a deeper interest in reversing the new policy of the federal government upon the question of slavery than other and less favored portions of this country. New York thrives most when the material prosperity of the North American continent is greatest. It suffers by exhaustion of the soil or the enterprise of even the most distant part of the Union. It is a just gauge of national prosperity. Her busy streets, crowded docks, and extended territory, are so many proofs of the increasing enterprise, inventive power and intellect of the American people. I am not surprised, therefore, that her citizens, in their "wealth and intelligence," as you are pleased to say, should assemble, in a crisis like the present, to utter an indignant protest against a systematic and apparently determined effort—not merely, as it is said, to secure to slavery that degree of protection to which it may lay claim by virtue of constitutions and compromises—but to give it an absolute, dominant control over all other interests of the people, and all other objects of government. Such a policy tends less to protect slavery than to repress, enervate and destroy other and greater interests. It is inconsistent with the views, objects and acts of the framers of the government. It cannot succeed but by erasing and destroying their ancient landmarks. It sifts from the purposes of government all its higher elements of equality, justice and liberty;

it represses efforts to elevate the condition of men, through the intervention of successful industry, of the arts, of science, of wealth, of literature, and of all the chief agents of civilization. It is a policy that finds no exponent in the conservative statesmen of the best days of the republic, and blindly hopes, now, for an opportunity to prolong its sudden and fitful existence through the indifference and dissensions of the higher interests of the country. It must be a cause of general congratulation that the City of Commerce has taken measures to interpose a negative to this line of policy, and to repudiate its advocates. I could promise myself no higher pleasure, gentlemen, than to participate in your deliberations, and to add my word of approval. I should be glad to be numbered among those who are authorized to announce, with emphasis, that New York, the Empire City, holds as heresy the new and dangerous doctrine, that the Constitution carries slavery wherever it goes, and demands its extension to territories where it was expressly prohibited by the great men of other days. Other duties, however, will deprive me of this pleasure, and I can only express my hearty concurrence in the objects of your meeting, and an earnest hope for the immediate success of your principles and purposes.

I am, very truly, your obedient servant,

N. B. BANKS, Jr.

**Letter from the Hon. W. H. Seward.**

WASHINGTON, April 12, 1856.

Gentlemen: I thank you sincerely for your kind invitation to the meeting of the citizens of New York, to be held on the 29th instant. I can, however, hardly indulge a hope that my engagements here will permit me to be with you on that interesting occasion.

Every compromise with slavery hitherto made has only tended in its results to render the problem of its present limitation and ultimate removal more complicated and embarrassing. Concessions made to obtain peace have produced disorder. Stipulations made to suppress debate have resulted in aggression and violence. Well assured myself that the problem will find a solution all the safer the more speedily the evils of slavery extension are understood, I rejoice in the many indications of a general awakening of the public mind to that subject, and await with patience its ultimate decision.

I am, gentleman,

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

**From Senator Sumner, of Massachusetts.**

SENATE CHAMBER, 28th April, 1856.

Dear Sir: I cannot be at your proposed meeting, where are to assemble the patriotism, intelligence and wealth of the metropolis; but I recognise its importance, and cry to it *God speed!*

The work before us is plain. Kansas must be saved from a tyrannical usurpation, under which slavery has been forcibly established on free soil. This is the special object of exertion to which we are summoned, by every consideration of regard for that distant territory, and also by every sentiment of love for our common country. But this can be done only by her immediate admission into the Union, under her present constitution as a free state—of course without any recognition of the usurpation. Upon this we must insist as the essential means to the end.

In achieving this result, an incidental good will be accomplished, which of itself should tempt us to any exertion. The slave oligarchy has staked its power in the Federal Government upon the support of this usurpation. In the madness of its tyranny, it has selected a position the least tenable of all its assumptions. To dislodge it from this position, and at the same time from its disgusting supremacy in the Federal Government, will be one and the same work. And all this will be easy to do, if the good people of the populous North, forgetting past differences, will only rally together. *Union to save Kansas, and Union to save ourselves*, should be the watchword.

Believe me, dear sir, very faithfully yours,

CHARLES SUMNER.

**Letter from William C. Bryant.**

New York, April 28th, 1856.

Gentlemen: It may not be in my power to be present at the meeting at which you have done me the honor to request my attendance, but I fully agree with you as to the importance of a combined effort to assert the rights of the great body of American citizens against the encroachments of an oligarchy—a class of proprietors who seek to subject all other interests, even the most sacred and dear, to their own.

Even if the question were merely whether we should stand by our old neighbors, —our friends and kinsmen, who have lately left us for a new home west of Missouri,—the occasion would be a fitting one to call forth all our zeal and unite all our strength. If we desert them in their hour of need, we shall be justly branded as cold-hearted, selfish and cowardly. No nation in the history of the world was ever so faithless to the obligations of humanity as to be indifferent to the fate of the colonies it had planted. With the republics of antiquity it was a matter of course to answer the calls of their colonies with instant sympathy and aid. England would cover herself with infamy, if she were to allow one of her colonies, appealing to her for protection, to be brought by force under the sway of an absolute government. In the present case, the call made upon us is for a species of succor which will cost us no sacrifice—the cheap and peaceful aid of our votes. The votes of the great, prosperous and powerful North are all that is required to deliver the settlements on the Kansas from the combination of fraud and violence formed to wrest from them their rights and compel them to submit to laws which their representatives never enacted. We raise committees, we organize a system of charity when our benevolence is appealed to by the people of a foreign country in distress. Ought we to do less for our own countrymen? Let us organize the entire region of the free states, further such aid as we can obtain from the just and well-disposed of the slaves states, into a great association for breaking up the conspiracy against the rights of our countrymen and kindred at the West who look to us for help. Every generous feeling allies itself with the sense of justice in favor of the cause in which you are engaged.

I am, gentlemen, with great regard, your obedient servant,

WM. C. BRYANT.

**Letter from Hon. E. P. Kuribut, Late Judge of the Court of Appeals.**

Newport, Herkimer County, New York, April 21, 1856.

Gentlemen: I am obliged to decline your flattering invitation "to attend a meeting of the citizens of New York who are opposed to the policy of the present national administration in reference to the extension of slavery over territory embraced in the compact of the Missouri Compromise, and in favor of restoring the action and position of the federal government on the subject of slavery to the principles of Washington and Jefferson;" but I agree with you in desiring to correct some of the prevailing errors in reference to slavery by a recurrence to first principles, and reaffirming the policy and sentiments of the great and good founders of the republic. They never favored slavery, not even within the limits where it first existed; much less did they favor its expansion into free territory. By them it was regarded as an evil to the master, a wrong to the slave, and a curse to the soil which endured it; and all experience has shown the wisdom of this opinion.

No sane man, until he is thoroughly corrupted by it, will attempt to justify slavery; the utmost he can claim for it is, that it be barely tolerated and endured where it at present unfortunately exists, for a season—and this only because no practicable means for its safe abolition have yet been pointed out.

It is worse than folly, worse than madness, to expand the area of slavery. It would be perhaps the most decidedly wicked and suicidal thing that this nation could do. All that the slave states can expect from the civilized world is toleration for a limited time, to wit, until some safe and practicable means for liberating their slaves can be devised and put in action. Till then, I am not disposed to blame the master for his unhappy condition. It is not until he becomes so mad as to admire his present state—to boast it—to attempt to justify it by reason—to fortify

it by revelation—and even to wish others to become as he is, including “these bonds”—that I feel authorized to blame and to oppose him.

So far as I am concerned, he may continue to languish in a state of dependence worse than slavery on soil now tainted with that curse; but he must be so modest as not to seek its expansion; he must not permit an abnormal love of his diseased condition to prompt him to make efforts for its further dissemination; in a word, slavery must not seek to occupy one square foot of soil which is now free, and this for the sake of the white man, the negro, and the soil itself. I say, for the sake of the white man—for to him it is the greatest curse. Witness the slow advances in civilization made by the slave states, and the rapid sinking of the sense of right under the influence of slavery—so that the grandchildren of the noblest apostles of human freedom have become the base advocates of the justice and policy of slavery. I say, for the sake of the negro also—because he is poor, weak and humble—and I would do him no wrong. He is a man—with the rights of a man—and I am bound to respect his rights. And for the sake of the soil, moreover—because I would have so much justice done to *that*—as that it should be tilled by interested and skillful laborers—who should be in turn rewarded by its ample fruits for all their toils.

I will not prolong this letter—but I beg to add, that I feel as much at liberty to condemn the policy of the present administration on the subject of slavery as if I had not contributed (as I did) by my vote to the election of Mr. Pierce to the Presidency; and that I am not in any sense an “abolitionist,” having nothing to propose on the subject of the abolition of slavery; nor am I a “negro worshipper,” since I worship no man—not even, as some seem to do the negro’s master—who in general I esteem to be the better man of the two. Still I think both are more entitled to be pitied than “worshipped.” But I would simply and merely prevent the extension of slavery over soil now free—and so earnestly would I do this, that nothing—no, not even the bonds of our National Union, should be held more sacred than “free soil,” where it is now free.

Very respectfully yours,

E. P. HUMLETT.

**Letter from Hon. F. E. Spinner.**

AT WILLARD'S, WASHINGTON, }  
Saturday, April 12, 1856. }

Gentlemen: Your note inviting my attendance at a meeting to be held at the Tabernacle, in New York, on the 29th inst., “in favor of restoring the action and position of the General Government on the subject of slavery to the principles of Washington and Jefferson,” has been received.

I not only sympathize with you, but shall feel it my duty to co-operate with you in every practical way; but much as I desire to do so, my duties here in the same cause will preclude me from the pleasure of attending in person.

I am, gentlemen, very respectfully yours,

F. E. SPINNER.

**Letter from Hon. H. W. Taylor.**

CANANDAIGUA, April 27, 1856.

Gentlemen: It would afford me great satisfaction to be able to meet you personally on the 29th instant; but as that is impossible, I give you, as representing the Republicanism of New York, my greeting and hearty approbation.

The question of slavery has, of late, assumed an importance in the political history of the country entirely new; and the effrontery with which its novel, strange, impudent and anti-constitutional rescripts are forced upon us, seeking to “subdue” the independence of the North, and to “crush out” its love of freedom, that the blighting influence of that enervating and pauperizing institution may prevail over all this favored land, demands the more intimate “union for the sake of the Union,” of all who would transmit the inheritance of liberty left us by our virtuous forefathers, unimpaired to our successors.

The aggressions of slavery, and the encouragement and sanction which these aggressions have received from the men who wield the destinies of this nation,

executive, judicial, and legislative; and the success which has, so far, crowned the efforts of the aggressors, are truly appalling.

Passing over all the ordinary and prominent reasons alleged against the creation of more slave states—unanswerable as they are—and admitting for the occasion the monstrous doctrine, that the Constitution throws its protecting ægis with equal jealousy over human freedom and human slavery; even then, what claim have they to the control of any more states? From territory acquired since the adoption of the Constitution, there have already been admitted to equal privileges *two* free states—Iowa and California—with *four* United States senators, and covering an area of 206,894 square miles; and *five* slave states—Florida, Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, and Texas—having *ten* United States senators, and encompassing a surface of 457,605 square miles.

The available power of the United States government rests with the Senate. In the enactment of all laws, that body is equal to the popular branch; and in addition to that, the Senate exercises absolute authority over all appointments to places of honor and profit. The steady aim of the South, for many years, has been to govern the country through that arm; and accordingly, no means, however extreme, have been left unemployed to secure a controlling majority there. The result of this bold but insidious policy, so far, has been to give fifteen states, with a free population of 6,412,503, to slavery; and sixteen nominally to freedom, with a like population of 13,436,931—or, in the substantial government of the country, each inhabitant of a slaveholding state exercises a power double that of each citizen of the free states. The natural and constant operation of the laws of population is every day widening this difference between the aggregates; and now a deadly effort is making by the South to increase this anti-republican element in our government to an illimitable extent.

It is due to the controlling power of slavery in the Senate, operating directly upon the hopes and fears of aspiring men, that we are so often called to lament the perfidy of many of our eminent northern statesmen. They have often enjoyed the confidence of northern freemen, and have, while in the honorable employment of a state, proved themselves worthy of the confidence reposed in them. But when the bounds of a single state become too narrow for their ambitious views, they learn that no man who remains true to the instinct of freedom and to the interests of the North can receive the approval of that body; and, alas! the virtue of too many is found unable to cope with this giant influence.

The encroachments made of late years upon the constitutional and common law right of the states, by the various courts of the United States, enlarging their own jurisdiction, and setting at defiance the judicial systems of the several states, present an aspect most alarming to the free people of the country. No one can be more disposed to uphold the legitimate adjudications of our courts than myself; but I am constrained to declare, that in my view the framework of the United States Courts is unsound; and the exercise of their unwarrantable and constantly augmenting jurisdiction, in matters pertaining to slavery, cannot always be endured.

In every branch of our government the preponderating power is claimed by, and has hitherto generally been quietly granted to, a portion of the people, inferior in numbers, in wealth, in industry, and in intellect; who repudiate the freedom of the race, and hold in perpetual bondage a large part of their native born citizens. The aim of that class now is, by new and minuter subdivisions of both its dominant and servile populations, and by threats of blood and rapine against peaceable and worthy emigrants, to acquire additional strength in the Senate, so that this inferior faction of one people may forever exercise unlimited sway over this fair heritage of freedom.

I have no sympathy with that phase of humanity whose stoical philosophy can look with unruffled composure upon hordes of filibustering cut-throats invading the settlements of quiet emigrants, murdering unarmed and defenceless men, and menacing whole villages with fire and sword; but whose delicate sensibilities are shocked and horrified at the iniquity of those who furnish their distant friends and brothers with the means of *sharp* defence against such atrocious Vandalism.

We may be beaten for one year, or two years, or more; men have not yet learned the innate energy of true and holy principle, moving upon the human heart and evolved in political action. But that the dark spirit of slavery will forever wave her gloomy ensign over this land, rescued once from arbitrary rule by the patriot bands of the Revolution, and whose free soil was baptized in the blood of

her slain, I no more fear than I fear that the powers of darkness will hold everlasting dominion over this redeemed world.

The express wish of the masses of the North hitherto has been only to restrain slavery within its own legitimate limits. To raise an issue beyond this is madness on the part of the South—for if slavery succeeds in the present contest, it will only render the certain triumph of freedom more glorious, and the final doom of that nefarious system the more complete.

I am, gentlemen,  
Very respectfully, your obedient servant,  
HENRY W. TAYLOR.

**Letter from Hon. Ransom Balcom.**

BINGHAMPTON, April 21, 1856.

Gentlemen: I have received your circular, requesting me to attend a meeting of the citizens of New York, opposed to the measures and policy of the present administration for the extension of slavery over territory embraced within the compact of the Missouri Compromise, and in favor of restoring the action and position of the federal government on the subject of slavery to the principles of Washington and Jefferson, to be held at the Broadway Tabernacle on the evening of the 29th instant.

While I heartily approve of the objects and propriety of the proposed meeting, I must decline to participate in it, for the reason that judicial officers should stand aloof from all political strife. They should have political opinions, and they ought to sustain them by their votes at the ballot-box, but *there* their political action should begin and end.

Very respectfully yours,

RANSOM BALCOM.

**Letter from Hon. W. H. Kelsey.**

WASHINGTON, April 16, 1856.

Gentlemen: Your letter, of the 10th instant, inviting me "to attend a meeting of the citizens of New York, opposed to the measures and policy of the present administration for the extension of slavery over territory embraced within the compact of the Missouri Compromise, and in favor of restoring the action and position of the federal government, on the subject of slavery, to the principles of Washington and Jefferson, to be held at the Broadway Tabernacle on the evening of the 29th inst.," was received last evening.

It is uncertain whether I can be with you on that occasion or not. But be assured, gentlemen, that I shall vote on all occasions, and labor with all my might, mind and strength, at all times, to accomplish the objects set forth in your letter.

Thanking you for the invitation,

I am, yours, truly,

W. H. KELSEY.

**Letter from Hon. Timothy C. Day.**

WASHINGTON, April 22, 1856.

Gentlemen: Your kind invitation to attend a meeting of the citizens of New York, to be held on the 29th inst., was received some days ago, but I have delayed a reply, in hopes that a favorable change in my health would permit me to accept. but I now find it necessary to turn homeward, and it will not be possible for me to attend.

If there ever was a period in the history of our republic when good and patriotic citizens were called upon to give the weight of their influence in a political canvass, that time is now. The theory of our government is about to be subverted, to gratify the reckless ambition of a few aspirants for high honors, and of many for paying offices; and it is necessary that the best and purest men of our times should take their stand on the side of right and free institutions. Under a miserable pretext, which is a falsehood on its face, (I mean the "popular sovereignty" of the Kansas bill,) a compact, made in good faith, and under which one of the contracting parties has received its share of benefits, has been broken, and now, by fraud and violence, it is sought to deprive freedom of its share. Every man of the North,



who loves his country more than this party, must protest, by his act and vote against this outrage, and see that the well-laid plans of the conspirators against the public weal are defeated.

I trust that the action of your meeting will be energetic, firm and decided. This is no time for mincing policy; we want action—bold, manly action. We want men with heart, men with brain; there is room enough in the so-called democratic party for all else. What you do, let it be done as though your hearts were in the work, and you may rest assured that your acts will meet with a hearty response from the people of the north.

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

TIMOTHY C. DAV.

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Letter from Hon. Schuyler Colfax, M. C.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, }  
Washington, April 22, 1856. }

Gentlemen: It would afford me more than ordinary pleasure if I were able to respond to the complimentary invitation you have tendered me, to address the friends of freedom of my native city; but public duties prevent, and I can be with you, therefore, only in spirit, not in person.

But a few days less than sixty-seven years ago, the father of our country, in your very city, and in the presence of your citizens, took that solemn oath of office which made him first President of the United States. And as he looked abroad over the republic, which he was thenceforth to aid in governing and protecting, as he had before in establishing, his clear eye could not have failed to see that in every acre of the national territory, outside the limits of the States, slavery was expressly prohibited and excluded. No regret at these enactments ever fell from his lips, for he had himself, six years before, declared himself averse to the institution and in favor of its abolition; and ten years later, on that death-bed which tests the sincerity of mortal professions, he most solemnly enjoined upon his executors that his instructions for the ultimate emancipation of his slaves should be, to use his own impressively anxious words, "religiously fulfilled, without evasion, neglect, or delay." He, whose right arm had so essentially aided in achieving the liberties we now enjoy, and in consummating our independence by the union which followed, never appeared to realize that, in order to secure "the equality of the States," those continental prohibitions against slavery extension should be declared "inoperative and void," and the absolute right of the slaveholder to emigrate into our territories with his human property, enforced and upheld by presidents, legislators, and judges; and I confess that, even in these latter days of discoveries like these, I prefer to follow in the footsteps of the revolutionary fathers, and to profit by their example, rather than to be dazzled by the new lights of the present age.

It is eminently fitting, therefore, that the National Committee, in summoning its opponents of slavery extension together at Philadelphia, should remind the country, as they have in their call, that our purpose is to restore the government to the policy of Washington and Jefferson, its most illustrious founders—that, instead of being "abolitionists," we do not even go as far as they did, when the one in 1782 and 1786, and the other in 1774, declared themselves in favor of the abolition of slavery in States where it then existed—and that we only strive to bring back our national territories to the same free condition that existed in similar organizations on the 30th of April, 1789. This is a work in which all patriots can harmoniously unite. It is one which the imminence of the present crisis—(when the slave power demands an absolute reversal of the revolutionary precedent, and that all territory shall be slave, not free,)—forces upon the country as paramount to all other issues. And if any one fails to recognize that it is the over-shadowing question of the day, which must be settled before and above all other questions, in one way or another, in favor of liberty or of slavery, by the policy of Washington or of Douglas—the fact that, in its presence, the bonds of old party organizations snap like brittle threads and are consumed like flax, ought to be sufficient to convince him that the great mass of the people recognize it as *the* issue of the times, and are already preparing for its final settlement at that court of last resort with American free-men—the ballot-box.

You have not failed to notice that the opening of the present Congress was signalized by the preliminary struggle of this conflict. I will not weary you by alluding to the fact that your representatives here exhibited their realizing sense of the magnitude of the contest by standing firm through a prolonged parliamentary struggle, unexampled in history, and which could be vindicated only by an overpowering conviction of duty and of right. I need only say that, at last, after a faithful persistence of months, with ranks as full to the end as when they entered on the contest, a victory for freedom and justice crowned their labors. It remains for you, and the people of the country at large, to say whether this auspicious success shall be followed up and consummated in the national canvass which is just opening, by a triumph of free labor as well as free principles, peaceful in its character, patriotic in its objects, republican in its results. With a man of firmness as well as patriotism in the presidential chair, the government will be restored to the policy of its fathers; and the slanders of our opponents will be disproved by his vindicating the eternal truth of our American Magna Charta on the one hand, while opposing all unconstitutional interference with the rights of the slave States on the other. With the country thus happily and justly governed, it cannot fail to go on in a career of prosperity, development and wealth, which freedom will be certain to bring in its train, until the efforts now making to blot out the examples of our forefathers and to extend the dominion of human bondage, shall be looked upon from the clearer stand-point of the hereafter with wonder and regret by all.

In this noble work, with such happy results as must inevitably flow from your labors, you need no words of encouragement from me. With union and concord you cannot fail. The principles upon which we stand cannot but command success when the public mind is concentrated on this great issue. Politicians in the Senate may clamor in regard to the "equality of the states," which no man denies. But the people will regard it as a higher and nobler principle that we vindicate in our policy *the equality of the American freeman*; and that we demand, as one of the "needful rules and regulations for the territory of the United States, which Congress is expressly authorized by the Constitution to enact, that the territories shall be so organized, as in 1789, that all of our citizens, from whatever clime they may come, or whatever may be their pecuniary condition, shall have equal rights in their settlement; and that no institution shall prevail in them which shall degrade American labor, and press down the mechanic, the day-laborer, the road-builder, or the worker in the fields, towards the social condition of the southern slave. In a word, that it shall be the first duty of the government to see to it, that, wherever is constitutional authority, Labor, the primal element of American prosperity, shall be honored, elevated and protected. Then, the true policy of the founders of the republic will be vindicated by their successors. And then, as the vanguard of Anglo-Saxon civilization pushes forward and takes possession of the wide-spread territories of the West, ever beneath the folds of the national banner, as it greets the morning breeze and reflects the setting sun, the great central truth of the Declaration of Independence will be recognized and avowed—that all men are endowed by their Creator with liberty, and that is one of the highest aims and nobles duties of government to protect this God-given and inalienable right, wherever it possesses the power.

Very truly, yours,

SCHUYLER COLFAX.

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Letter from Edward Wade, U. S. S.

WASHINGTON, April 25th, 1856.

Gentlemen: Your note of invitation to "attend a meeting of the citizens of New York, opposed to the measures and policy of the present administration for the extension of slavery over territory embraced within the compact of the Missouri Compromise," &c., was duly received, and should have been earlier answered. Permit me to say, gentlemen, that it would afford me the sincerest pleasure to be with my fellow-citizens of the "Commercial Metropolis" on an occasion of such deep and vital importance; but the pressure of duties here, and the necessity of visiting my own state and home, for a short time, forbid the gratification.

In my humble judgment, gentlemen, on the success of efforts, directed to the accomplishment of the objects of your contemplated meeting, hangs the *perpetuity of the Union of these states*.

The "Old Confederation," the Constitution of the United States, and the Union and government under the Constitution, were each and all the fruits of the ORGANIZING SPIRIT OF HUMAN FREEDOM. Out of that organic and life giving spirit arose the form and the substance of our present Union. It must be administered in the same spirit, and with the same purpose, or it becomes a lifeless, putrifying corpse—a burr in the eye, and an offence to the nostrils of the nations.

The propagandism of slavery, for many years stealthily carried on, under the influence of the federal government, has now become its avowed and reckless purpose. The spirit which organized the federal government at its commencement, has been "cast out," and the demon of slavery has possessed the present administration; and, of course, indications of *dissolution* are as obvious to the reflecting statesman, as to the skillful physician, are the prognostics of death to the patient laboring under cholera or consumption.

The spirit which propagates human slavery, is a spirit of contention, of hatred, of caprice and spoil. There is no cohesiveness in that spirit. The union springing from it, is the effect of force applied from without, not the cohesive power of benevolence and justice. The *propagandists* of slavery, and the *conservatives* of freedom, cannot work together, cannot love one another, nor have confidence in each other. This any man of reflecting mind may and ought to know, *prior to experience*. Theory, much as it should be distrusted, where experience has not led the way, ought still to teach us so much; nay, our own experience, in the every-day duties of life, might and ought to teach us this. But our experiences here, in contact with the propagandists of slavery, force upon us the humiliating truth, that a hatred is growing up between the opponents of slavery extension and its advocates, as lasting, and as *hopeless* of reconciliation, as the difference between the priceless blessings of liberty, and the unfathomable curse of human bondage. This is not only theoretically true, but it is true in fact, in the activities of every-day life. There is no cure for this growing and inevitable repulsion, but in the subordination of freedom to slavery; none, but in its restriction, and its expulsion from territories once dedicated to freedom. Let the spread of slavery be once stopped effectually, and, like a disease of the body, the constitutional vigor will soon wholly eradicate the leprosy.

But I did not design to say anything when I commenced, but simply this—that at this time, politically speaking, "but one thing is needful," and that is the *unconquerable spirit of Union* among the opponents of slavery extension; this, with that energy which the spirit of liberty *ought* to inspire, for so glorious an end as the preservation of the Union "for sake" of our FATHERS who FORMED IT, and the glorious any priceless ends for which they formed it, will bring us the victory; and with it countless years of justice, freedom and prosperity to our beloved country.

I remain, gentlemen, your obedient servant,

EDW. WADE.

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#### Letter from Hon. James H. Titus.

MALONE, April 24th, 1856.

Gentlemen: Official duties in connection with a public trust will oblige me to be in the western part of our state the 29th instant, the time appointed for the meeting at the Broadway Tabernacle; and I much regret that I shall thus be prevented from being present, for I am decidedly "opposed to the measures and policy of the present administration for the extension of slavery over territory embraced within the compact of the Missouri Compromise;" and I am earnestly "in favor of restoring the action and position of the federal government on the subject of slavery to the principles of Washington and Jefferson." The fact that your meeting is designed to promote a party movement in the next presidential campaign which shall act independent of former party associations,—irrespective of former political issues,—and solely for the defence of free territory against the aggression of slavery, adds to the regrets I experience in being prevented from accepting your invitation.

The influence of the pro-slavery interest has had, for many years past, such a demoralizing effect on the conduct of aspiring politicians in free states as to deprive any of the existing parties of the confidence of the true advocates of free labor; we have seen each contending against the other in a race to obtain the pro-slavery vote. It has been this gambling on the part of our prominent party men—this treachery to the known sentiments of their constituents—that has deprived the free

states of the increased political strength which should have resulted from the increase of territory and population, and has given to the slave states so much more than their just relative strength.

The artful exercise of such power by the South in the defeat of the nomination of Martin Van Buren in 1844, but for the magnanimity of Silas Wright, would have caused the overthrow of the democratic party in that presidential campaign. Alas! how soon did that pure patriot have reason to regret his misplaced confidence; and how bitterly have the true friends of free labor since lamented that such magnanimity should have been prostituted to the aggrandizement of the pro-slavery interest—no person who ever justly appreciated the character of Silas Wright, can suppose the regret he experienced of his misplaced confidence arose from any selfish consideration—no, that regret, like every impulsion of his heart and mind, was in connection with his conviction of righteousness. He perceived his devotion to the welfare of the democratic party was about to be perverted, through the treachery of doughfaces, to the promotion of the adventitious power of the pro-slavery interest. The rule of action in national politics immediately instituted by Polk and his cabinet, and continued by each successive administration, has demonstrated the correctness of Gov. Wright's apprehensions, and it is now manifest that such rule of action was then allowed, and has since been sustained by the leaders of all parties in the free states with a direct view of the political favor of the slave states.

The first fruits of this unjust and injurious rule of action in our national affairs, were the *immediate* annexation of Texas, and the Mexican war, and since then we have had a continued harvest of apples of discord, such as the Compromise measures, the Fugitive Slave law, the Nebraska bill, the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and the armed invasion of free territory.

It is known to the world that each of these measures was perpetrated in open subservience to the dictation of the slave states and in flagrant disregard of public sentiment in the free states; all done specially to promote the selfish purposes of mad politicians and patronage-mongers among the former, and of party aspirants and patronage-seekers among the latter. Is this vicious rule of action in our national politics to be continued? Are political aspirants to be allowed thus to sport with the harmony of our Union? We may hope not, for we now find throughout the free states a deep sensation and stern indignation on the subject prevailing with all pure patriots, and forcing them, irrespective of former party associations, to cry out to each other, "Men and brethren, what shall we do?" and it is to this state of feeling that we may trace the origin of the present Republican party, which, I trust, is now about to be so organized that we may confidently look to its rule of action for a better future in our national politics.

I have alluded to the advantage obtained by the pro-slavery interest through the unfortunate self-sacrifice of Silas Wright. Let me relate, as appropriate to the occasion of your meeting, the concluding remarks of a long conversation I had with him at the time of the first discussion of the Wilmot Proviso in our state legislature (January, 1847); since which I have never doubted where his name would have been enrolled in subsequent party divisions on the subject, had heaven spared him to have taken his part—said he, "This question will be readily settled, as it should, if the people of the free states are true to themselves; if all the free states shall now act as an entire body in the defence and support of free territory, as the South in latter times have and will continue to act in efforts to extend slavery—if we, of the free states, act our part in this matter, irrespective of party associations, with the same concert that the slave states do their part,—if we talk as freely, as plainly (I may say) as frankly as they do—the question is settled. The talk of disunion, by the slave interest, is simply the boy's cry of the wolf; and when referred to by political aspirants in the free states, is hypocrisy of a shallow nature; the South laugh in their sleeves when they suppose the cry is heeded by the North."

Let it be to us Republicans an encouragement, in our proposed line of action, at the approaching presidential election, to know that in separating ourselves, on this important issue, from our former party associates in order to devote our political efforts to the preservation of free territory, we are acting in conformity with the views of that judicious statesman and pure patriot, Silas Wright.

I am, with great respect, yours truly,

JAMES H. TITUS.

## Letter from Hon. Martin Butts.

CLARKSVILLE, April 24, 1856.

Gentlemen: Your letter of the 10th instant, inviting me to be present at a meeting to be held in your city, at the Broadway Tabernacle, on the 29th inst., by the citizens of New York, was duly received. In reply, while I am compelled to say to you that my business arrangements will not permit me to be present with you, still I beg leave to remark that I sincerely and cordially approve of the object of your meeting as set forth in your letter, and think that the place for holding the same could not have been better selected than in the city of New York. I deem it appropriate that the citizens of the great commercial metropolis, not only of the Empire State, but of the Union, should ever take a prominent part in all questions of vital interest to the state and nation, and give tone to public sentiment throughout the entire nation. It is not only appropriate, but patriotism imperiously demands, that where so much of wealth, intelligence and enterprise is concentrated, there too the watch-fires upon the altars of freedom should be kept constantly blazing, and that an influence from thence should emanate, and a light from the concentrated press of the city should be disseminated, that would give tone and energy to the nation.

New York should be to the nation *now*, what Boston was to the colonies immediately preceding and during the Revolution. Indeed, there are many striking resemblances between the two periods. Then, George the Third, through his Parliament and by the aid of his mercenary troops, sought to enforce upon the colonies, then part and parcel of the British Empire, measures subversive of every principle of the English constitution, or their recognized charter of rights, as expounded by the purest and best patriots both in England and America. Now, Frank the First, by the aid of his satellites in Congress, threatening the aggressive power of the whole military force of the nation if needed, seeks to enforce a principle upon the American people, that is in direct hostility to the sentiments and teachings of the fathers of the republic, and which, if he succeeds, must ultimately sap the very foundation of the fair edifice they have left us as the joint product of their wisdom, virtue and patriotism.

Since the organization of our government, opposing political parties have been striving for the ascendancy; but hitherto every political party has claimed the revolutionary fathers as their tutelar saints or guiding stars, till our modern Solons have improved upon democracy by the infusion of squatter sovereignty, and anon a pseudo-democracy has emerged from the amalgamation that can talk jeeringly and fluently of "Mr. Jefferson's dogma," and find abundance of Scripture to prove (to their understanding, at least,) that slavery—even of white men—is in accordance with the design of Heaven for the well-being of society.

Let such sentiments as these be imbibed by our citizens from any influence whatever, and the days of the republic will be numbered, and the eulogy of freedom may be pronounced. To counteract influences leading to such results, ever demands, and will receive, the vigilant attention of the Patriot and the Philanthropist.

I am, gentlemen, your obedient servant,

MARTIN BUTTS.

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 Letter from Hon. Zenos Clark.

POTSDAM, April 23, 1856.

Gentlemen: I am in possession of your polite invitation to attend a meeting of the citizens of New York opposed to the measures and policy of the present administration for the extension of slavery over territory embraced within the compact of the Missouri Compromise, and in favor of restoring the action and position of the federal government on the subject of slavery to the principles of Washington and Jefferson, to be held at the Broadway Tabernacle on the 29th instant. I shall not be able to attend the meeting on account of ill health; but its object and purposes, as set forth in your circular, have my hearty approval, and your patriotic and praiseworthy efforts in the cause of freedom well deserve, and will assuredly have, the warmest sympathies of all good men and patriots.

The base surrender to the slave power of the South of territory consecrated to freedom by solemn compact, led on by a northern President in violation of repeated pledges to preserve the compromises of the Fathers of the Republic, has justly spread alarm over the country, and it is to be hoped that it will have the effect to

arouse the people to a just sense of the dangers that surround us, and the importance of united action and efforts to relieve us from the threatened evil. Regardless of long-cherished partisan names and organizations, let the true friends of human freedom unite as one strong and mighty man in placing the government in the hands of honest men, tried men, who are known to possess the qualifications to administer the government according to the genius and spirit of its institutions. This done, the old landmarks restored and well secured by proper constitutional safeguard, we may retain the freedom of our fathers and the country restored to quiet.

Respectfully yours,

Z. CLARK.

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Letter from Hon. Bradford R. Wood.

ALBANY, April 25, 1856.

Gentlemen: Your note inviting me to attend a meeting (to be held at the Tabernacle on the 29th instant) of the citizens of New York opposed to the slave extension policy of the administration, and in favor of restoring the action of the federal government on the subject of slavery to the principles of Washington and Jefferson, has been received. I regret that my engagements are such that I cannot be present on that occasion. I heartily approve of the object for which that meeting is called.

The only question of any moment now before the nation is resistance to slave extension and slavery aggression, and I trust that all who think alike in this respect will subordinate all other questions to it. That the cause of human liberty and the stability of the Union depend on our success, I firmly believe. The election of a Republican Speaker in the House of Representatives should go far to disabuse honest men at the South of their apprehension (if any) as to any interference on our part with the so-called "domestic institution," and which now exists in the slave states by *permission* of the Constitution—an institution which, on their own showing, as well as of the last census, has degraded millions of white men below the level of the African, and the final consummation of which, as I believe, will be in that amalgamation of the races so rapidly going on among them. From the North, the South has nothing to fear, for we have always kept our faith with the South. Had a similar regard for compromises and good faith obtained with them, the nation would not now be convulsed as it is. On them and their venal northern allies must rest the blame of the present agitated state of affairs, and of civil war, if civil war ensue. Perhaps some excuse may be made for the South for being misled, if misled she is, as to our object in the present contest, by the wilfully false statements of these their associates. Men who would hesitate to utter a single falsehood in private, have no scruples in publishing and circulating political lies by the wholesale. The time may not be very far distant when these men, a disgrace to our own free state institutions, shall be required by a just public sentiment to seek homes among those slave institutions they so much admire and are seeking to extend. If the Hotspurs of the South should succeed in their cherished design of dissolving the Union, and by the complicity of these men, we shall be well rid of them. Our platform should be the Declaration of Independence. This will bring all men to the test at once. It is the disgrace of our times that this declaration has, among slave extensionists, become a mere figment—a figure of speech, to be jeered and flouted at, even in the halls of Congress. The Constitution, an emanation of that instrument, in our early times was construed by it, and it must again be so construed. None but an ignorant, an impudent or an unscrupulous man would assert that slave extension is sanctioned by the Constitution.

We have another duty to perform, and that is to vindicate the judiciary from the tyrannic purposes for which it has been and is sought to be used. Constructive treason, that engine of the despotic Stnarts, has been introduced into our own country by the late and present administration in aid of the slave power; and history tells us that there have ever been found among the bar and on the bench, willing and fit tools of such despotism. Fortunately, our standing army, however composed, is small, and, I trust, to be made smaller; and, packed juries outside Judge Lynch's jurisdiction, and in the free states, of rare occurrence.

I remain, very respectfully, yours,

BRADFORD R. WOOD.

**From Senator Wilson, of Massachusetts.**

SENATE CHAMBER, April 25, 1856.

Gentlemen: Your kind invitation to attend your meeting on the 29th instant, has been received, and, in reply, I am compelled to say, that my official duties will not permit to do so. I need not say to you, gentleman, that it would afford me the highest satisfaction to meet with the friends of free Kansas, and the opponents of the extension of slavery, in the commercial capital of the republic, and to unite with them in the effort to place that commercial capital against the domination of a party that "seduces" (to use the expressive language of David Wilmot) "by its promises, corrupts by its patronage, and *devises* by its use of party organization." Associated as the city of New York is with all the sections of our common country—by her vast commercial relations, and by the power of her newspaper press—it is of vital importance to the cause of Free Kansas, that she should take her position "openly, actively, and perpetually on the side of Freedom."

The friends of Free Kansas, in both Houses of Congress, receive the most gratifying assurances from all sections of the free states, that the People's Convention, to be holden in Philadelphia, on the 17th June, will be promptly responded to by men of all parties—Whigs and Democrats, Americans and Republicans. The instincts of the people, often wiser than the logical deductions of statesmen, comprehend the exact position of public affairs, and the practical duty demanded by the present crisis.

The instinctive sagacity of the masses clearly comprehend the "fixed fact," that the friends of free Kansas can only hope to triumph in the coming Presidential election by the cordial union of the opponents of the repeal of the Missouri prohibition, of all parties, upon that issue, allowing perfect toleration of opinion and action upon all other questions of state and national policy. If true friends of free Kansas and freedom in the territories, who have acted in the Whig, Democratic, American and Republican parties will unite in the People's Convention, which opens its doors to them all, consent to tolerate the utmost freedom of opinion and action upon questions upon which they have heretofore widely differed, and pledge themselves not to proscribe each other on account of these minor differences, they can easily win a victory over the waning power of Pro-Slavery Democracy—dethrone the Black Power, and enthrone Freedom in the government of the republic.

Yours, truly, HENRY WILSON.

**From the Hon. E. H. Morgan, of New York.**

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, 27th April, 1856.

Gentlemen: It would be most agreeable to me to accept your invitation to unite with the hosts of the free men of New York on the 29th instant, to give expression to the general sentiments of the North upon the absorbing issues of the day.

I am devoted to the principles you advocate, and shall with zeal co operate with you in maintaining them.

Duty compels me to remain at my post, and, to the extent of my ability, defend the cause of freedom from the assaults of the slavr power of the South, the miserable race of Doughfaces of the North, and profligate, corrupt administration here.

I am, with great respect, truly yours, EDWIN B. MORGAN.

**Letter from F. P. Blair.**

SILVER SPRING, April 26, 1856.

Gentlemen: It is grateful to me to receive an invitation to unite in your effort to restore the patriotism of the time when republicans of every party were arrayed in opposition to the sinister designs of the nullifiers of the South.

They are more formidable now than ever. They have an administration installed at Washington to aid their plots, which, receiving its power from the democracy, has betrayed its organization—its name, and the accumulated confidence gathered around it, by the labors of the illustrious restorers of the principles derived from Jefferson, together with the authority it conferred on those entrusted with the government, to assist the worst enemy of its cause.

To use a homely phrase, "*the democracy has been sold out*" to Mr. Calhoun's nullifying party; a party which owes its origin to artful appeals made by him to the slaveholding interest, operating on the fears of some, the avarice and ambition of others.

A brief account of the rise of this party will be useful, as explaining the source of its power and the present troubles of the country.

Mr. Calhoun, after failing in his effort to attain the Presidency, by the sacrifice he made of southern interests to manufacturing cupidity, in the first protective tariff which he contributed to enact, changed his tactics, and devoted his life to achieve the object of his ambition by consolidating the slave power through appeal to its interests. He reversed his tariff policy, and pronounced the protective system robbery of the South. Agriculture was indeed everywhere oppressed by an excessive tariff; but Mr. Calhoun and his partisans insisted that the whole burden fell on the South, although the North paid double the duties paid by the South.

His own and Mr. McDuffie's powerful appeals persuaded South Carolina that the Union was a mischief to her, and as the central seaboard state, she would prosper more as the head of the southern confederacy, than as a little slave oligarchy in the midst of great republican commonwealths, then looking to the gradual progress of free principles, for aggrandizement.

The more prosperous states of the South, although hostile to the tariff, would not adopt Mr. Calhoun's nullification for redress. His attempt to identify General Jackson's administration with South Carolina principles proved abortive. The plan to effect it was ingeniously contrived. A dinner, in honor of Jefferson's birthday, was the occasion devised to inaugurate the administration and the doctrine of nullification together. The sentiments prepared for promulgation with this view were laid by the side of the new President's plate, to receive his sanction, but they met his reprobation in the famous toast: "The federal Union must be preserved"—which he inscribed on the paper. Mr. Calhoun's next step was to bring South Carolina alone into the arena, to defy the general government and broach civil war, relying on the sympathy of the slave states to unite all in making common cause with her when coerced by the general government. This hazardous plan of combining the slaveholding power in a war upon the Union, fell under the proclamation and the force bill.

Mr. Calhoun did not abandon, under this defeat, his favorite design of embodying the South as a section, to command the North or separate from it. The cry that slavery was in danger was his next rallying cry. The names of Tappan, Garrison and other speculative enthusiasts, who argued the cause of the African race, in the hope of reaching the feelings and consciences of those who had the power of giving them freedom, were made the watchwords of his party. Mr. Calhoun endeavored to impress the feeling that these movements portended the invasion of the rights of southern slave-owners by the power of northern states. There was not the slightest pretext for the apprehension. The great majority in all the free states condemned interference with the domestic institutions of the South. Even discussion of the subject, with a view to moral effect, was in the northern cities frowned down. But Mr. Calhoun was not content with this demonstration of public feeling in the free states. His next move was to convoke a sectional convention of all the states holding slaves, for the purpose of demanding of the northern legislatures the suppression of the abolition societies, headed by Tappan and others; and he declared that the South must dissolve the Union, unless the North obeyed his call to suppress the freedom of speech and of the press, if employed by its citizens in discussing the mischiefs of slavery. This extraordinary movement to enforce the persecution of free opinion in one section by demanding penal enactments, menacing a revolt in the other, on failure to comply, had the desired effect. It gave importance to the Abolitionists, which it is impossible they would otherwise have acquired. Multitudes were ready to defend the freedom of speech, who were strongly opposed to the abuse of it.

The legislatures of the North would not persecute at Mr. Calhoun's bidding. He then appealed to Congress to suppress the circulation of what he called the "incendiary" tracts of the abolitionists, and introduced a bill, supported by a long report, to enforce a sort of censorship over every publication lodged in the mail. All were to be suppressed that could be construed as affecting slavery. Mr. Calhoun denounced a separation of the Union as the necessary consequence of the failure of this measure. It failed as an enactment, but did not fail to increase the agitation which it was designed to provoke.

Then followed the era of petitions from the North, which were multiplied as repulses to the insults heaped upon their authors, by Mr. Calhoun and his southern coadjutors. They, in turn, avenged themselves upon the petitions by denunciatory speeches, by refusing to print, by laying them upon the table without reading, by



subjecting them to every species of parliamentary contempt. All this exasperation, which Mr. Calhoun had taken such an active share in propagating throughout the class with which he identified himself, did not compass his object.

The great body of the people, North and South, saw that he aimed to reach the Presidency by combining the whole vote of the South in his favor, and putting it in the attitude of abandoning the Union, unless the North would call the great nullifier to the Chief Magistracy to prevent it. The intrigue of selfish ambition was so apparent in all his management, that Mr. Calhoun could not unite the South in his support. It valued the Union much more than it did Mr. Calhoun, and would not put it in jeopardy to make the experiment he proposed. It saw, too, that there was not the slightest inclination on the part of any northern state to trespass on the rights of their brethren of the South—that the panic about incendiary documents was a mere feint—that all the abolition pamphlets were but waste paper. If they had any effect, it was to make the master more severe, and the slave more servile.

Having in vain tried to make the subserviency of the slaveholder throughout the South pander to his selfish designs, as it did in South Carolina, mischance at last gave Mr. Calhoun the opportunity to touch a chord, to which the feelings of slave-owners everywhere responded. It awakened the ambition of the whole oligarchy of the South. The conquest of new dominions for slavery touched that fibre in the heart, which, unhappily for the peace of mankind, is too much alive in every bosom. Mr. Calhoun, as the head of Mr. Tyler's administration, (a place which was opened to him by the hand of death), urged the annexation of Texas, as offering a field to the South for the propagation of slavery, and opening its way to indefinite extension towards the West. He seized the occasion to address a letter to Lord Aberdeen, declaring this to be the purpose of the annexation, and another to Mr. King, our minister to France, in which he expatiated upon the advantages of slavery. Thus offering, in the eyes of all Europe, an insult to the honest principles on which our Revolutionary Fathers and the authors of the Constitution founded our government.

These patriots would not allow the word *slave* to be found in our Constitution. They provided for the extinction of the slave trade as a piracy. They prohibited it from every territory belonging to the Union. Mr. Calhoun coveted new territories only to afford room for its expansion, and made it his shameless boast to the world, that the power we had acquired as freemen, under the lead of patriots, who had shed their blood to establish the principle that "all men were born free and equal," was now to be employed to spread slavery over a continent. Here, for the first time, Mr. Calhoun succeeded in drawing to his purposes the whole slaveholding interest, as well without as within South Carolina.

The ambition of conquest, especially, in those taught to domineer in their nurses' arms, cannot resist the tempting invitation to take cheap glory and rich spoils from a weak people. Besides, we had a claim to Texas. It was already a slave state, and it was not then suspected that Mr. Calhoun looked beyond its boundaries to take new provinces, and extend slavery into Mexico. His avowed principle, therefore, was supposed to be limited by the practical result to which they were immediately applicable; and men who had no thought of conquering Mexico to convert it again into a land of slaves, cordially co-operated in bringing Texas into the Union. The scheme was then meditated, the consequences of which are now before us, and which Mr. Brooks, of South Carolina, has declared, in the House of Representatives, looks to the absorption of Mexico, Nicaragua and Cuba.

The annexation of Texas produced the war with Mexico, which fully developed the ambition of the slaveholding interest for extended dominion. It was not satisfied with the acquisition of the rich state of Texas. It was not satisfied with the pledge given by Congress that four additional slave states should be created out of territory conquered from Mexico, between the limits of Texas as they stood before the war and the Rio Grande, and other unsettled regions extending along the line of 36 deg. 30 min. to New Mexico. Mr. Calhoun and his partisans threatened to sever the Union if California was admitted as a free state on demand of its citizens, unless all New Mexico were opened to slavery.

It is proper to look back to the successful means employed by Mr. Calhoun and his friends, which enabled them to press such arrogant demands. Mr. Calhoun had made the slaveholders a perfect southern phalanx by making it manifest that thorough concert of action among them was essential to achieve their contemplated conquest; and it was also impressed, as another pre-requisite, that they must have control of the federal administration, and to accomplish this a combination of personal interests must be contrived, to dissolve the adhesion of party principles. With these ends Mr. Calhoun, the actual head of Mr. Tyler's administration, called a convention of delegates, appointed by the officeholders in all the States, to meet at Baltimore contemporaneously with the Democratic Convention chosen to nominate a successor to Mr. Tyler. The Texas question was employed to produce a schism in the Democratic Convention, a majority of which had been instructed to

announce Mr. Van Buren as its candidate for the Presidency. The two-thirds rule was adopted to defeat his nomination.

It is now avowed by one of the South Carolina delegation, that Mr. Polk owed his nomination to Mr. Calhoun's friends. Colonel Pickens and Mr. Elmore, from South Carolina, attended as delegates, and laid their credentials on the table, but did not become members, preferring to stand aloof and not be bound by the decision of the body. While exerting their influence to control the result, they intimated that unless the man they would support should become the candidate, the nullifiers who controlled the Texas movement would defeat his election. Pledges were made on all sides, and Mr. Polk was nominated. But to make sure that the pledges of Mr. Polk's friends would be faithfully redeemed, Mr. Tyler's nomination, which was made in the convention of officeholders, then at hand and in session, was proclaimed and held in suspense, to be resorted to in case of faltering on the part of Mr. Polk. The skill with which Mr. Calhoun, sitting in his cabinet, managed this double nomination between a President *in esse*, and a President *in futuro*, for the same place, gives admirable proof of his dexterity in political intrigue. The point he had in view was, to make the power which he could enable Mr. Tyler to wield over the vote of the South, extort from Mr. Polk whatever concessions the nullifiers might demand, as the price of Mr. Tyler's withdrawal, to secure Mr. Polk's election.

The editor of the *Globe* knew nothing of the secret negotiations pending between Messrs. Polk, Calhoun and Tyler, during the three months that Mr. Tyler kept the field, nor, indeed, until after the inauguration of Mr. Polk. He did not understand why Mr. Calhoun, just at that time, got up public meetings through the South, proclaiming a secession from the Union, unless the tariff of 1842 was abandoned. It was the wiles to draw out the train bands of nullification, to enable Mr. Tyler to threaten Mr. Polk with opposition in that quarter. The editor of the *Globe* denounced this movement, and the abuses of Mr. Tyler's administration, because Mr. Calhoun's friends, who were connected with them, professed to be friends of Mr. Polk. Did not the *Globe* taken a course to show that there was no collusion between Mr. Polk and the authors of what so offended the public, the election would have been lost. Mr. Calhoun thus compelled the *Globe* to take the course which gave a pretext for Mr. Tyler to complain of its conductor, and to appeal to Mr. Polk to make a pledge, that it should not be the organ of his administration in case Mr. Tyler withdrew to secure his election, but that he would appoint one favorable to Mr. Calhoun and himself, in consideration of the sacrifice of their present prospects to his success.

This was the mode in which Mr. Calhoun reached his great desideratum. At last he had succeeded in making a thorough combination among the slave-owners of the South, animated in his cause by the hope of new conquests, and he had obtained in advance a guaranty of authority over the official organ of the executive, as a hostage, to control the succeeding administration.

To show the importance which Mr. Calhoun attached to the command of the official organ of the democracy at Washington will require some detail and proof. This may be tedious; but as all the existing troubles of the country are to be traced to the disorganization and overthrow of that party, and the substitution of the powers of the nullifiers in its stead, although prolix, personal and somewhat savoring of egotism, the development may be excused as necessary.

Mr. Rives says, in a correspondence of his with Mr. Ritchie, in January, 1851: "A gentleman of high standing (Col. Pickens) warned me, and through me Mr. Blair, that he intended to use all honorable means to get rid of him as editor of the *Globe*, on account of his opposition to southern men and southern measures." This conversation, between Col. Pickens and Mr. Rives, took place in Washington, on his way home from the Baltimore Convention, where he had contributed to the nomination of Mr. Polk. To accomplish this purpose, Col. Pickens paid a visit to Mr. Polk, in Tennessee—but to prepare the way for it a letter was written by Mr. Walker, afterwards Mr. Polk's Secretary of the Treasury, the purpose of which is disclosed in the following passage of a letter from Mr. Polk to Gen. Jackson, dated

"COLUMBIA, July 23d, 1844.

"My dear Sir: I received on yesterday the enclosed letter from Mr. Senator Walker, of Mississippi. I have communicated its contents, confidentially, to my friend, General Pillow, who will hand you this letter, and who will confer with you in regard to the steps proper to be taken, if anything should be done in reference to its suggestions. General Pillow is my friend, and an honorable and reliable man, with whom you may safely communicate freely.

"The object which Mr. Walker desires to attain is an important one, and yet occupying the position which I do, it is one of so much delicacy that I do not see how I could write on the subject to any one. I submit it to your better judgment what you may deem it proper to do. The main object in the way of Mr. T.'s withdrawal seems to be the course of the *Globe* towards himself and his friends. There is certainly no necessity for the *Globe* to continue its attacks upon him or his administration. A separate Tyler ticket might put in jeopardy the vote of several closely contested states, and perhaps affect the final result. Surely Mr. Blair, of the *Globe*, can be induced to cease his war upon the administration during the pendency of the contest at least."

It will be seen that nothing more of the dealing between Mr. Polk and Mr. Tyler's Cabinet was here revealed than the wish that the editor of the *Globe*

should "be induced to cease his war upon the administration during the pendency of the contest at least;" the circumstances, then concealed, have since come to light, showing that a bargain was then struck, that the *Globe's* war should cease forever, and that an organ, friendly to Mr. Calhoun, should be substituted for the *Globe*. These disclosures were first indicated subsequently to Mr. Polk's election, by approaches to General Jackson, to reconcile him to the abandonment of the democratic organ which he had established at Washington, as a bulwark against the machinations of Mr. Calhoun, to destroy the integrity of the *Union*, to effect which, the *Press*, of Duff Green, had been first devoted by him. Not a breath as to the motives of Colonel Pickens' visit to Mr. Polk (which followed immediately after the letter of Mr. Walker to Mr. Polk, containing the proposals of Mr. Tyler's withdrawal,) was suffered to reach the ears of General Jackson; but after the election in December, rumors of a design to make a change in the organ reached him through General Armstrong, who was sent to break it to him. General Armstrong, though affecting to sympathise with General Jackson's feelings and wishes, was, in fact, entirely devoted to Mr. Polk, and shared in all his collusion with Calhoun and Tyler, and was rewarded for it first by the rich consulate at Liverpool, and reaped his last harvest as editor of the *Union*, in the service of the nullifiers. General Jackson divulges what General Armstrong represented as rumor, but what was really the concerted plans settled upon by the coalition of Calhoun, Tyler and Polk, in a letter dated Hermitage, 14th December, 1844, in which he says:

" \* \* \* "Our mutual friend, Gen. Robert Armstrong, spent a part of yesterday with me, from whom I confidentially learned some movements of some of our democratic friends, not of wisdom, but of folly, that would at once separate the democratic party and destroy Polk, and would of course drive you from the support of Polk's administration and separate the democratic party. I forthwith wrote Col. Polk upon the subject, and am sure he will view it as I do, a wicked and concerted movement for Mr. Calhoun's and Mr. Tyler's political benefit. It is this, to amalgamate the *Madisonian* and what was the *Speculator*, and make that paper the organ of the government to the exclusion of the *Globe*. I am sure Polk, when he hears it, will feel as indignant at the plot as I do. I will vouch for one thing, and that is, that Mr. Calhoun will not be one of Polk's cabinet, nor any aspirant to the Presidency. This is believed to spring from Mr. Rhet's brain, inculcated into the brain of some of our pretended democratic politicians who want to be great men, but will never reach that height.

"As your friend on the political watch-tower, I give you this confidential information, and by silence and care you will soon find the secret movers of this weak and wicked measure, that would at once divide and distract the *Republican party* and dissolve it—unless the measures we have adopted here may put it down, you will soon see the movement in Washington, and I hope, if attempted, the whole democracy will rally around the *Globe* and prostrate the viper forever. This intrigue puts me in mind of Mr. Calhoun's treachery to me and well worthy a disciple of his.

"But there is another project on foot as void of good sense and benefit to the democratic cause as the other, but not as wicked, proceeding from weak and inexperienced minds. It is this: to bring about a partnership between you and Mr. Ritchie, you to continue proprietor, and Ritchie the editor. This, to me, is a most extraordinary conception coming from any well-informed mind or experienced politician. It is true Mr. Ritchie is an experienced editor, but sometimes goes off at half-cock before he sees the whole ground, and does the party great injury before he sees his error, and then has great difficulty to get back into the right track again. Witness his course on my removal of the deposits, and how much injury he did us before he got into the right track again. Another *faux pas* he made when he went off with Rives and the conservatives, and advocated for the safe keeping of the public revenue special deposits in the state banks, as if where the directory were corrupt there could be any more security in special deposits in corrupt banks than in general deposits, and it was some time before this great absurdity could be bent out of his mind.

"These are visionary measures of what I call weak politicians, who suggest them, but who wish to become great by foolish changes. Polk, I believe, will stick by you faithfully; should he not, he is lost; but I have no fears but that he will, and being informed confidentially of this movement, may have it in his power to put it *all down*. One thing I know, General Armstrong and myself, with all our influence, will stick by you to the last. I am not at liberty to name names, but you will be able by silent watchfulness to discover those concerned, because the amalgamation of the *Madisonian* with Mr. Rhet's paper will be at once attempted to be put in operation to carry out Mr. Tyler's administration, and attempt to become the administration paper under Polk, and the partnership between you and Mr. Ritchie broached to you by some of your friends and his. I therefore give you this information that you may not be taken by surprise. There will be great intrigue going on at Washington this winter, and if I mistake not Mr. Polk, he will throw the whole to the winds and to the wind. He has energy enough to give himself elbow room, under all and any circumstances, and you may rest assured he will have none in his cabinet that are aspiring to the Presidency. I write in confidence, and will soon again write you. You may rest assured in my friendship—all the politicians on earth can never shake it. I wish to see you the organ of the democratic party as long as you own a paper, and as long as the party is true to itself you will be its organ, and true to its principles.

"I am very weak, and must close.

"Your friend, truly,

ANDREW JACKSON."

On the 28th of February, he recurs to the subject with great surprise, at learning that a particular friend of Col. Polk's is enlisted in Mr. Calhoun's organ. He says, in this letter of the 28th February, 1845:

"HERMITAGE, February 28, 1845:

" \* \* \* "My dear Blair: For the first time on the 22d inst., I was informed that Col. Langhlin had gone to the city of Washington to become interested in the *Madisonian*. If this is true, it will astonish me greatly. Some time ago I did learn that there was a project on foot to unite the *Madisonian* and the *Constitution*, and make it the organ of the Executive. Another plan is to get Mr. Ritchie interested as editor of the *Globe*—all of which I gave you an intimation of, and which I thought had been put down. But that any leading democrat here had any thought of becoming interested in the *Madisonian*, to make it the organ of the Administration, was such a thing as I could not believe; as common sense at once pointed out, as a consequence, that it would divide the democracy, and destroy Polk's administration. Why, it would blow him up. The moment I heard it, I adopted such measures as I trust have put an end to it, as I know nothing could be so injurious to Col. Polk and his administration. The pretext for this movement will be the *Globe's* support of Col. Benton. Let me know if there is any truth in this rumor. I guarded Col. Polk against any abandonment of the *Globe*. It

can do you but little harm. A few subscribers may withdraw, but it will add one hundred per cent. to your subscription list in one month after it is known. If true, it would place Col. Polk in the shoes of Mr. Tyler. "Your friend, sincerely, ANDREW JACKSON."

Four days afterwards, in a letter, he alludes to the efforts he had made to prevent Mr. Polk from entering into this coalition with Tyler and Calhoun:

"HARRISBURG, March 3, 1845.

"\* \* \* \* \* In my letter I said to you I had taken a firm and immediate stand to put it down. I wrote to Col. Polk a true and honest letter, bringing to his view the mistake that making the *Madisonian* the administration paper would place him in. It would be in the shoes of Tyler, and split the democracy, and blow him and his administration sky-high. There is less common sense in this than I could conceive. But I must tell Col. Polk, on the receipt of my letter, will crush this Tyler and Calhoun movement in the bud. \* \* \* I am truly your friend, ANDREW JACKSON."

From a succession of letters which I received from him in the months of March and April, it is evident he was constantly exerting his influence to avert the mischief, to what he called the "Republican Party," threatened in the surrender of the *Globe* by Mr. Polk, and the adoption of the Calhoun organ to represent his administration. The following letter, of the 11th of April, exhibits the whole *dramatis personæ* engaged in the intrigue. It is given in full. The names which appear in this letter, and the attendant circumstances, throw light on the whole transaction:

"HARRISBURG, April 9, 1845.

"My dear Mr. Blair: I have been quite sick for several days—my feet and legs much swollen, and it has reached my hands and arms, and it may be that my life ends in dropsy. All means hitherto used to stay the swelling have now failed to check it—the it so. I am fully prepared to say the Lord's will be done. My mind, since ever I heard of the attitude the President had assumed with you as editor of the *Globe*, which was the most unexpected thing I ever met with, my mind has been troubled, and it was not only unexpected by me, but has shown less good common sense by the President than any act of his life, and calculated to divide instead of uniting the democracy, which appears to be his reason for urging this useless and foolish measure at the very threshold of his administration, and when everything appeared to a great well for, to him, a prosperous administration. The President, here, before he set out for Washington, must have been listening to the secret counsels of some political cliques, such as Calhoun or Tyler cliques (for there are such here), or after he reached Washington some of the secret friends of some of the aspirants must have gotten hold of his ear and spoiled his common sense, or he never would have made such a movement so uncalculated, and well-calculated to sever the democracy by calling down upon himself suspicions, by the act of secretly favoring some of the political cliques who are looking to the succession for some favorite. I have in my confidential letters, and particularly that of the 4th inst., brought fully to his view, in my plain common-sense way, his situation, and ask him at last how he can justify his course to you—to the real democracy that sustained my administration and Mr. Van Buren's.

"I brought to his view, that when I entered upon the duties of the administration of the government, Duff Green was the democratic editor, whose object was to heat the executive chair by me for Mr. Calhoun. He was the executive organ until I found he was doing my administration injury and dividing the democratic ranks; that the *Globe*, with you its editor, took Duff Green's place. That you and Colonel Polk went hand in hand in sustaining all my measures, with ability and zeal—both advocated the election of Mr. Van Buren, and went hand in hand in sustaining his administration—united in his support for a second term—that ever since the Colonel's name was announced as the nominee of the Baltimore Convention, you have given him an unflinching support, and I have fully explained to him how your paper has been drawn astray from your own matured views on the Texas question. I then conclude by asking him what excuse can be given to the old substantial Jackson and Van Buren democrats for not letting you and your paper go on as his organ until you are in some fault, and then, as I did Duff Green, turn you away. Just, have you (the Colonel) any new principles other than those you have always advocated, and set forth in your inaugural, to bring before the people, that you think Mr. Blair will oppose, that at the very threshold of your administration you have repudiated Blair and his *Globe* from being your organ. I know this cannot be the case, therefore am entirely not to condone any good cause for your unaccountable course to Mr. Blair, and wind up, telling him there is but one safe course to pursue—follow his course, send for you, and direct you and the *Globe* to proceed as the organ of the administration, give you all his confidence, and all would be well and end well. *This is the substance*, and I had a hope on the receipt of this letter, and some others written by mutual friends, would have restored all things to harmony and confidence again. I rested on this hope until the 11th, when I received yours of the 9th, and two confidential letters from the President directed to be laid before me, from which it would seem that the purchase of the *Globe*, and to get a clear of you, as editor, is the great absorbing question before the President.

Well, who is to take the purchase? Mr. Ritchie and Major A. J. Donelson, its editors. *Query as to the letter.* The above question I have asked the President. Is that renegade politician, Cameron, who boasts of his pluck and manly power, the one of them?—who is a bankrupt in politics, and who got elected a senator by selling himself to the oligarchy and could not raise \$1,000 to be one of the proprietors to unite the democracy. His very election has divided them in Pennsylvania, and a letter to me says he has done our mutual friend Ruffin much injury, he being charged with using secretly his influence to effect the sale of Ruffin's ownership in part, to Mr. Kern, Kane, Leiper, Dallas, and a host of other old time democrats in your organ's State. *What do you think?* Or is Major Walker, of Tennessee, to be the purchaser? Here it is stated he is easily overruled with debt by many, a perfect bankrupt. Who is to purchase and where is the money to come from? Is Mr. William Gwin, the satellite of Calhoun, the great friend of R. A. Walker, Secretary of Treasury, a perfect bankrupt in property? My own opinion is that the contract made, the money cannot be raised, and the *Globe* cannot be bought. What then? The President will find himself in a dilemma, have to apologise, and the *Globe* be the organ, and Ritchie will return, and so will be satisfied with the sagacity of the Administration as when he left Richmond. These are my speculations. I may be in error. I would like to know what portion of the Cabinet are supporting and advising the President to this course, where nothing but injury can result to him in the end, and division in his cabinet, arising from jealousy. What political cliques is to be stirred? My dear friend, he must know all about the cabinet and their movement on this subject. How foolish and it is to me to see an old friend laid aside, principles of justice and friendship forgotten, and all for the sake of *power*—and the great Democratic party divided or endangered, or *perished*—and that a mere hangers-on policy, that must tend to divide the great Democratic party, while the Whigs are secretly rejoicing at the prospects of division in our ranks. I declare to you, it is a course that common sense forbids the adoption, when the administration was entering on its career with so much harmony and prospect of success. I cannot reflect upon it with any calmness: every point of it upon scrutiny, turns to harm and disunion, and not one beneficial result can be expected from it. I will be anxious to know the result. If harmony is restored, and the *Globe* the organ, I will rejoice; if sold, to whom, and for what?

"This may be the last letter I may be able to write you; but live or die, I am your friend, (and never deserted one from *policy*.) and leave my papers and reputation in your keeping. As far as justice is due to my fame, I know you will shield it. I ask no more. I rest upon truth, and require nothing but what truth will give to me. All my household join me in kind wishes for your health and prosperity, and that of all your family, and that you may triumph over all enemies. May God's choicest blessings be bestowed upon you and yours through life, is the prayer of your sincere friend,

"F. P. Blair, Esq."

"ANDREW JACKSON."

The first slight glimpse of the completion of the arrangement here fully developed between the triumvirates had been given immediately after Col. Pickens had made his visit to Col. Polk. A convention of Mr. Polk's friends assembled soon afterwards at Nashville, and adopted the course of the *Globe* in regard to the nullification meetings in South Carolina.

"It repelled (said Mr. Polk's Nashville organ, Mr. Nicholson's paper, I believe,) the charge of disunion against the real democracy with indignation and contempt," &c. The moment after the return of Col. Pickens to South Carolina, the nullification outcry was hushed. The confederates thus united, looked upon it as a common interest to quiet the North's apprehensions in regard to the disunion tendencies of Mr. Polk's new allies. Mr. Pickens's successful mission was immediately followed by Mr. Tyler's withdrawal from the canvass.

An arrangement having been thus ratified between the contracting parties for an official organ in the interest of the nullifying party, in the event of Mr. Polk's election, the treasury of the United States, on the 4th day of November, 1844, (signs then manifesting the strongest probability of Mr. Polk's election, placed \$50,000 in Mr. Cameron's bank, at a village nine miles from Harrisburg, to make provision for the purchase of the press. The election over, Mr. Cameron, in pursuance of the arrangement, informed Mr. Donelson by letter, that he had this money at his disposal, and he was invited by the President to avail himself of it, to purchase the *Globe*, or establish another press at Washington. General Jackson saw this letter, and got his first glimpse of the part assigned Mr. Cameron.

As soon as the new President arrived in Washington, he proposed to the editor of the *Globe* to permit Major Donelson to take his place, at the same time soliciting him to support the press by writing for it secretly. This was refused, and no doubt in consequence of General Jackson's opposition to Major Donelson's lending himself and the influence he derived from the General's relationship, he also declined the proposal of entering into the projects of Mr. Calhoun, and hesitated to avail himself of the means put at his disposal by Mr. Cameron. Mr. Ritchie was the alternative of Major Donelson. The latter was, doubtless, preferred by Mr. Calhoun, because he had been associated with him in breaking up General Jackson's first cabinet. That the confidential relations still subsisted which so signally marked their intercourse in the beginning of General Jackson's administration, this preference gives full proof, and it is further evinced by the fact, that Mr. Calhoun confided to him the execution of his last and most important official act—the midnight mission of the 3d of March to re-annex Texas to the United States.

The number of distinguished men who were called in to assist at the birth of the organ which was to establish the southern dynasty by "placing Col. Polk in the shoes of Mr. Tyler," marks the interest which all the confederates took in the subject. Col. Pickens, Gen. Pillow, Mr. Walker, Mr. Tyler, Mr. Calhoun, Mr. Rhett, Mr. Cameron, Major Donelson, Mr. Ritchie, Gen. Armstrong, Mr. Nicholson, (Mr. Nicholson, I believe then editor of the Nashville Polk paper,) all figure in General Jackson's letter, as having their share in the travail. Mr. Buchanan, it appears from a letter on file in the Treasury Department, was not allowed to escape his part of the responsibility for the most delicate part of the operation—the taking the \$50,000 to establish an organ. Mr. Tyler was willing to let Mr. Cameron have the \$50,000 out of the public treasury to make provision for the political bantling on which so much depended; but as Mr. Buchanan was to become a special beneficiary in the premiership, it was considered a wise precaution, that he should, in writing, recommend Mr. Cameron as a fit recipient of this grace from the administration, and of trust from the treasury.

The confidence thus reposed in Mr. Cameron all around, and the help it gave him on Mr. Buchanan, elevated him to the Senate of the United States. Possibly the \$50,000 helped, as he only advanced out of it the first instalment for the *Globe*, as appeared from his testimony before a committee. The money was not refunded until 1847. In the meantime Mr. Cameron was purveyor of fat jobs for the press in the Senate, and some in which he was himself supposed to be interested. The government was, in truth, repaid out of his own money. A gratuity of \$50,000 which was voted to Mr. Ritchie beyond his contracts, through the influence of Mr. Douglas, a sort of outfit for private life, on retiring from the press.

But he was not the only lucky man who derived dignity and emolument from this treasury investment. Mr. Buchanan became Premier, Mr. Walker, Secretary of the Treasury; Messrs. Calhoun, Pickens and Elmore were severally offered the mission to England; Mr. Ritchie, Mr. Donelson, General Armstrong and Mr. Nicholson, successive editors of the organ, and the nullifying squadron of the South,

through its instrumentality, have subjected to their control the organization of the democratic party from that day to this. In virtue of it, they have had at their command the high stations of the government at home and abroad. And the present administration, from its induction to this hour, has been under the dictation of its leaders.

The question now to be decided before the country is, whether the nullifiers who have thus usurped the name and organization of the democratic party, but who have no principles in common with it, shall be allowed to carry out their designs in such disguise. Their leaders on every question, in every difficult crisis of the country, from the commencement of General Jackson's administration, have been against the democracy.

Who are the leaders in the South who now make such loud professions of democracy? Who are they that repeat the word in chorus and have made it a party sing-song? Men who never were democrats, but abhorred the name when it rallied the country around an administration that was true to the representative principle, to the popular will, to the cause of free government, and now use it only to cover broken faith to constituents and violated compacts between States.

The leading men in Virginia at this time, are Hunter and Mason, its senators, and Wise, its governor. What were they in the days of conflict for the democracy, during the administrations of Jackson and Van Buren—Hunter, a thorough Calhoun nullifier, Mason, a meek conservative of the Rives and Palmage stamp. Wise, siding with Calhoun at every step in his deadly warfare against Jackson and Van Buren. Mr. Clingan, now a most prominent chief in North Carolina, in a late letter, bottoms his adhesion, and claims to the honors of the democracy of this day, on its hostility to that which recognizes Van Buren, Benton and Blair, among its followers.

Mr. Butler, of South Carolina, who has inherited Mr. Calhoun's place in his State and in the Senate of the United States, in a letter of instructions, has given this list of dignitaries who wield the torches of the Palmetto democracy, from which he advises that the delegates to the Cincinnati Convention be drawn. He says: "Let the State send her very first men—such as Governor Richardson, Colonel Pickens, Governor Hammond, Mr. Brownwell, Mr. Rhett, Governor Means, General Wallace, Mr. Woodward, General Thompson, Richard Simpson, General Rogers. These gentlemen have reputations of something like *curule* dignity." Gentlemen of "*Curule* dignity," in the days of Roman grandeur, were personages exalted by official station to the privilege of riding in a certain class of chariots, from the name of which that of their distinction was derived. Now, the whole body appointed to go to Cincinnati to dictate a President for the democracy derive their "*Curule* dignity" entirely from having ridden with Mr. Calhoun in his nullifying car.

Mr. Butler, while providing delegates to nominate a Presidential candidate at Cincinnati, is too honest to conceal a sneer at his fellowship with a name against which his political sentiments revolt. He bares all pretension to democracy on the part of his state, whose institutions are entirely at war with its principles, and he declares he would have preferred her "*keeping aloof*," "*avoiding the amalgamation of mass meetings, in which democratic numbers meet more stronger than constitutional weight*," *I wish*, he adds, "*South Carolina could have retained her constitutional identity, maintaining doctrines that could surrive a constitution—that should give security and equality*." The equality in "*constitutional weight*" here meant is that which would put down the doctrine of a majority governing in republics. In this the nullifier speaks out.

Mr. Butler and General Atchison are the real authors of the Kansas act, but they never meant that the majority rule provided in the law should supplant the weight which the constitutional country of the South would bring to bear in down, by adding force, and arms, and tactics to overcome the masses. These gentlemen, while maturing their measures, lived together in the city, in the closest intimacy, and now following the custom of the Roman consuls, (Mr. Butler will pardon the allusion), one takes the field to carry out their plans, while the other remains in the Senate to give support to his absent colleague. These two are the heirs of Mr. Calhoun's designs. His Octavius and Antony. They are the masters of the administration, and may stand for the representatives at large of the spurious Democracy.

Georgia, next to South Carolina, holds most sway in the new party; and Messrs. Toombs, Stevens, and Dawson are confessedly the commanding men in that state. Where did they study for their democratic diploma? In the school of every opposition that ever assailed the party re-established by Jackson.

Florida presents Mr. Yulee, as its senator and minister, to support the new order of democracy originated in South Carolina, and by adoption the President's democracy. He was a devout worshipper of Mr. Calhoun, and his faith is his religion.

The party in Louisiana acknowledges Mr. Soulé as its leader. A malcontent from France, who, as Minister of the United States, insulted the governments of France and Spain by way of acquiring Cuba, through a peaceful negotiation, de-

pending for its success on the good will of both!—and then proposed in the Ostend conference to ravish it by force from the arms of Spain, on the ground of necessity!! This gentleman carries the delegation of Louisiana to choose a President for the democracy; a function to which he is recommended by the boldest speeches for secession made during the debate on the compromise of 1850.

Two military chieftains hold Mississippi under a sort of martial law. The Secretary of War is provided in advance to represent her in the Senate during the next administration, and for the present he commands in the cabinet. In the Senate, at the session of 1850, he out-heroded the Herod of South Carolina in pressing towards secession. He had taken all but the last step, that of walking out of the Senate and the Union with his hat in one hand and his state in the other. His second in the command of the Mississippi democracy, General Quitman, also caught the pronunciamento infection from Mexican Santa Anna and the heroes of his cast. General Quitman, it is thought, would have been content to take himself out of the Union for the sake of Cuba, and leave our poor republic to shift for itself. He could not compass his wish, and he remains to conquer the North for the South, making filibustering in Kansas, non-intervention, and the putting down of the ballot box, the test of popular sovereignty.

In Tennessee, Senator Jones and other inveterate enemies of General Jackson have supplanted the old democracy.

These are the heads that manage the political concerns of the slaveholders' party, and managing them fatally for their ultimate interests. They have put "*the democracy proper*" (to use Gen. Jackson's expression, to distinguish those he relied on from the Calhoun pretenders to the name) under foot. They hold the administration under the thumb, and every other Presidential aspirant at the North, looking to the Cincinnati Convention, and the fifty thousand office-holders who seek to retain their stations and expect their preservation from the election of some one of these aspirants, compose the rank and file of their northern mercenaries, whom Mr. Cushing may be said to represent, having first figured in Mr. Tyler's corporal's guard.

These are the elements of that spurious democracy which Gen. Jackson's intuitive sagacity foresaw would be the offspring of the political embraces of Calhoun, Tyler and Polk. Among the last letters ever written by him, he predicted the ruin of the cause to which he had devoted his life, and that Mr. Polk would be among the first to lament the course that led to it. These brief extracts mark the distress with which this sad augury closed his career. In a letter of the 28th of April, he says:

"My dear Friend: Under the circumstances with which you were surrounded, there was but one honorable course for you to pursue, unless you abandoned your democratic principles, and divided the party, the one you have adopted. Being as we shall be, all united to sustain the great democratic party, still the course adopted by the President with the *Globe* will do him an injury—it cannot, with all our best exertions, be avoided. The old *democracy proper* cannot see the propriety of the course adopted. (The italics are his own.) But it is done, and note what I say, that President Polk will be amongst the first of the old *democracy proper* that will regret it, and have cause to regret it."

In another letter he again takes up the subject and reiterates the same train of thought, but breaks off his undelivered letter thus:

"I have used my voice to prevent that evil to him (Mr. Polk) and the democratic party. I am too weak to write much to-day. I look to a split in the democratic ranks, which I will sorely regret, and which might have been so easily avoided. I am very sick, and must close."

In a letter of the 2d of May, he writes about the disposition of his papers, and recurs to his distress about "Col. Polk's course," closing thus:

"My dear Friend: I am exhausted, and must close. I am a blubber of water from the toes to the crown of the head, and every line I write must pause for breath. May the choicest blessings of Heaven be bestowed on you and every branch of your family, is the united prayer of the inmates of the Hermitage. Your friend,  
ANDREW JACKSON."

These extracts are given to show that, even under the pressure of the malady which was rapidly hurrying him to the grave, Gen. Jackson's mind was occupied with what he considered the cause of the country, which he identified with "*the republican party*," "*the old democracy proper*," in opposition to the nullifying party, which he thought aimed to destroy the Union. The annexed extract is from a letter, the last which his pen was able to scrawl. They are all in his own handwriting. The strength of thought, compared with the feebleness of hand, showed his mind survived his body. It was intended to console me on retiring from public life; and after speaking tenderly of our private relations, he expresses the pride he felt for the "high, honorable bearing that separates you from the *Globe* and pecuniary interest, rather than do an act injurious to the great democratic cause, in which you had so long and faithfully labored, and, I add, *successfully*." Thus you have set an example for all true patriots to follow." His affectionate partiality then recurs. He mentions that he heard Sully was taking a portrait of me, and adds:

"I certainly will have a copy of it, and it shall have a place in my own room: and after I am gone, in the most conspicuous part of my Hermitage. In about two years the *Globe*, with its editor and zealous partner, will be called into life by the whole democracy of the Union. And if they will accept

and respond to the call, the *Globe* will be again the organ of the Executive, and the defender of our true democratic principles and our glorious Union, as long as democratic principles are triumphant—mark this."

The prediction at the close was verified, and within the time mentioned Ritchie was sent to offer its surrender [the *Globe*] to its old editor.

The Kansas act is now the test of democracy. This is the declaration of the President—of his official organ—of his officeholders, and of the slaveholders. The Jefferson and Jackson democracy is utterly scouted. And how is this test of democracy represented in Congress? In the House, from the North, "*The Union*" counts about seventeen; and of these there is scarcely one that did not reach his seat upon other issues than the Kansas question. In the Senate, from the North, there is not a senator who can stand by the test, without notoriously misrepresenting his state. From the South there are no longer whigs or democrats—all parties are swallowed up in nullification of party principles for the purpose of extending slavery over new regions, and without the justification of the want of room in the slave states. The fifteen slave states, with little more than one-third of the inhabitants of the free states, have an area of 851,508 square miles; the free states only 612,597 square miles—the slave states having also the advantage of a better soil and milder climate.

What a revolution in the course of the first half century has slavery wrought in the principles that gave birth to our republic! Freedom was the basis of that republic. It is now insisted that the constitution carries the principle of bondage wherever its flag makes an acquisition. The democratic party made Jefferson the apostle of its faith. Compare the Kansas act with the Declaration of Independence, and the ordinance of 1787. In his first paper, Mr. Jefferson asserts the rights of humanity—in the other, excludes slavery from all the territories of the Union. The Kansas act would spread it over the continent; and to effect it, establishes a new system of politics and morals for the democratic party, for which it is prescribed as a test.

It is democratic now to break faith plighted between the states, in compacts made to preserve the Union and its peace.

It is democratic now to break faith with constituents, and violate the representative principle on which our republics are all founded.

It is democratic now to disobey the instructions of constituent bodies, and exert the force of the government to defeat the efforts of the people to redress the wrong committed by one set of representatives, by turning them out and choosing another.

It is democratic now, after nullifying the clause authorizing Congress to make rules and regulations for the territories, and all the compromises regulating their mode of settlement and interpolating the new principle of non-intervention as the substitute, to connive at the use of armed force to defeat the new law—to drive the settlers from the soils where they were invited to decide the question of slavery—to introduce voters from a slave state to impose slavery on the territory against the will of the rightful voters, the actual settlers—and to elect a legislature representing the slaveholders of the invading state—to usurp the government of the territory—repeal the organic act of Congress—and destroy the rights guaranteed under it.

It is democratic now to defend the establishment of test oaths, requiring all settlers opposed to slavery to swear allegiance to a law they hold to be unconstitutional, to entitle them to suffrage, and enabling those not entitled to vote as settlers, to avoid taking the oath of residence, on which the right of suffrage depends, by paying a dollar as a substitute for all other qualifications.

It is democratic now to exel, as aliens, citizens invited by the Act of Congress to settle the territory and to intimidate emigrants opposed to slavery from entering, by examples of Lynch law which would disgrace barbarians.

It is democracy now to pass sedition laws, prohibiting discussion and the denial of slave ownership where slavery was not authorized, denouncing the penalty of death against that as a crime, which the organic law deputed as a duty to be performed by the people.

It is democracy now in a President to see this reign of terror established by force and arms, and an usurpation made to triumph over the laws of the United States, by a series of invasions publicly prepared, announced in advance, and occupying more than a year in accomplishing their object, and yet not to raise a finger to avert the wrong, but after its consummation to proclaim that he would use all the force of the Union, of the army, and the militia, if necessary, to maintain it.

Against this spurious democracy, which has thus perfected its system in the Kansas act, and made it their test, I, as a democrat of the Jefferson, Jackson, and Van Buren school, enter my protest.